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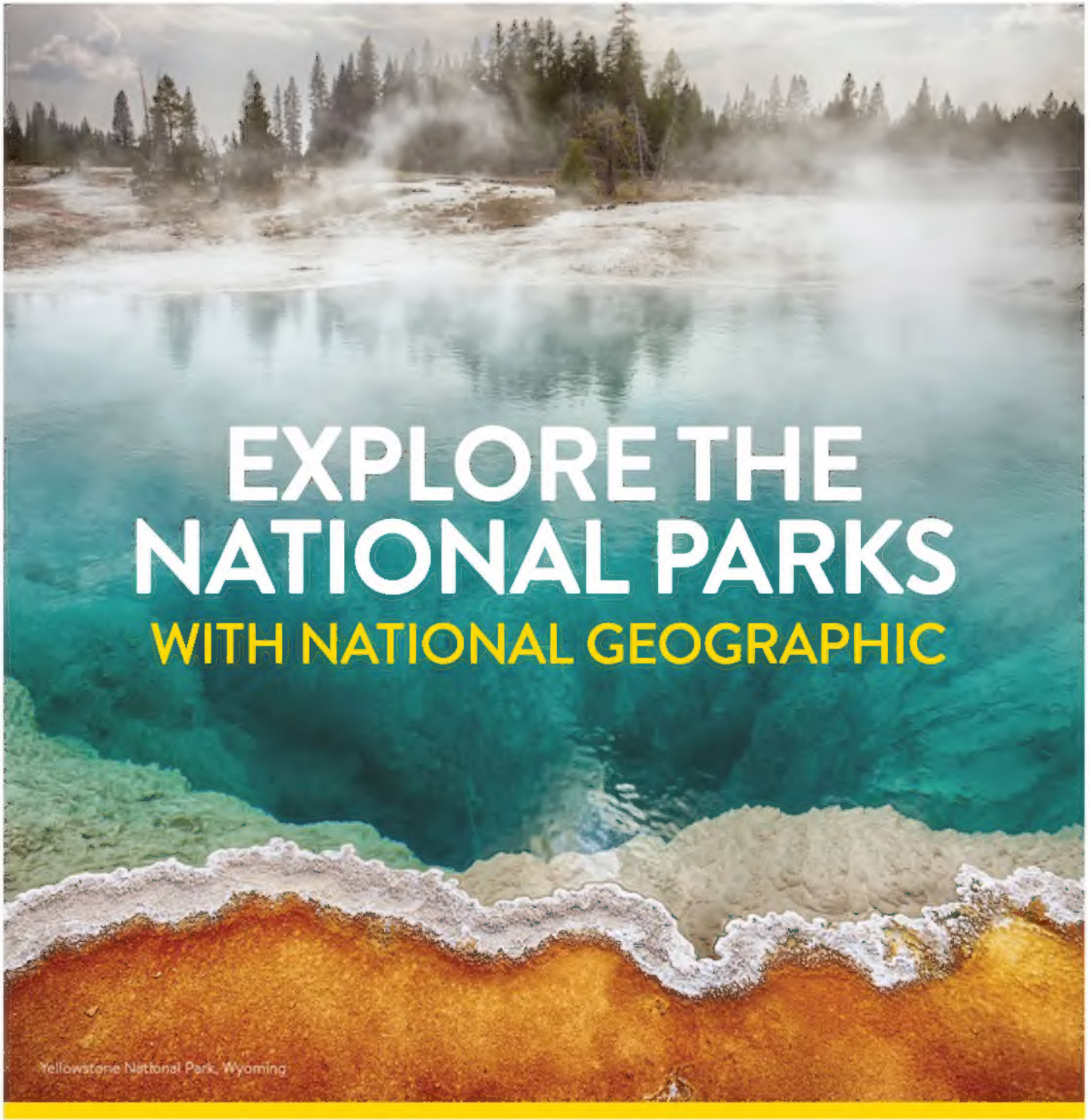
THE RISE OF CLAUDIUS
ROME'S IMPROBABLE EMPEROR
PLUS:
PASTA'S TWISTED HISTORY
ADAM WEISHAUPT, FATHER OF THE ILLUMINATI
JULY/AUGUST 2016
KILLING THE KING
LOUIS XVI'S PATH TO THE GUILLOTINE



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Athletic competition is hardly a modern phenomenon: Footraces, ball games like field hockey and soccer, and wrestling matches—to name a few—date back thousands of years to civilizations all over the world. It seems humans have always been chasing the thrill of victory while avoiding the agony of defeat (with apologies to Jim McKay).

The Olympics embody this persistent spirit of human competition. To celebrate the 2016 Summer Games in Rio de Janerio, Brazil, *National Geographic History* is looking back to ancient Greece and the games that started it all in 776 B.C. Then, as now, the highs and lows of competition were a stark reality for the athletes—with fantastic prizes, personal glory, and national honor all on the line.

As the games have lasted, so have they changed. At first the modern Olympics were for men only, but in 1900 women took the field. Events themselves have come and gone: We've said goodbye to tug-of-war in 1920 and hello to triathlon in 2000. Professional athletes are now able to compete, broadening the field and raising the excitement. It is in this that the Olympic Games embody another successful human trait: the ability to adapt in order to endure.

Amy Briggs

Amy Briggs, Executive Editor

PHOTO: ARALDO DE LUCA

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NEW ALLIES IN THE NORTH
The Lion Gate at Hattusha in modern-day Turkey, birthplace of the Hittite princess who married Ramses II of Egypt in 1245 B.C.

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An amateur scholar revealed the stunning rock-cut temples of Ellora in India to the admiration of the world.

FROM DUMP TO DIGITAL: The long journey undertaken by the papyri found at Oxyrhynchus reflects their immense value to historians. In the 1890s Bernard Grenfell and Arthur Hunt excavated a sand dune in Oxyrhynchus in Egypt, unearthing a massive papyri dump from the Roman and Byzantine eras. Half a million recovered fragments now reside in 700 boxes in Oxford, England. The process of transcribing was painstakingly slow, but an army of online volunteers is speeding things up, taking part in one of the most remarkable archaeological projects of the digital age.

ABOVE, WORKERS AT THE OXYRHYNCHUS DIG, OVERSEEN BY GRENFELL AND HUNT, **RIGHT,** PICTURED AT THE SITE, 1896-1907

PHOTOS: THE EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY

OXYRHYNCHUS means "sharp-nosed," a reference to a type of fish once worshipped in the city, depicted in this bronze from the sixth to the fourth centuries B.C. A key capital in Greco-Roman Egypt, the city's government produced many of the papyri now being studied.

WERNER FORMAN/ART/ALBUM

ONLINE ARCHAEOLOGY

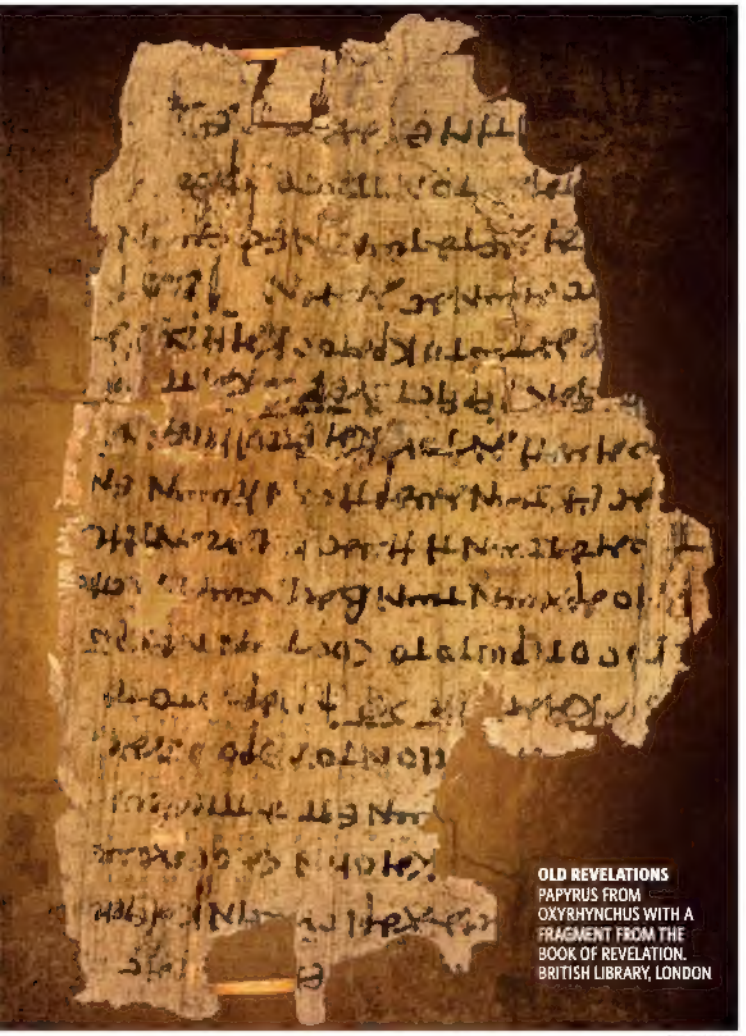
Citizen Science Meets Ancient Egypt

An innovative crowdsourcing project is bringing new life and many sets of fresh eyes to a treasure trove of ancient Egyptian papyri.

"This is a piece of text discovered in Egypt, written over 1,000 years ago. We'd like you to help us to read it."

For amateur archaeologists, the Ancient Lives project, in which volunteers help decipher the Oxyrhynchus papyri from Egypt, is a dream come true. Since its launch from Oxford University in 2011, the 250,000-strong online community has helped discover a lost play about Moses as well as reveal previously unseen glimpses into the daily life of an ancient town.

In the 1890s British archaeologists Bernard Grenfell and Arthur Hunt discovered the Oxyrhynchus papyri in a garbage dump at the ancient city of Oxyrhynchus, southwest of Cairo. Preserved under the dunes, the dump contained a trove of papyrus fragments,

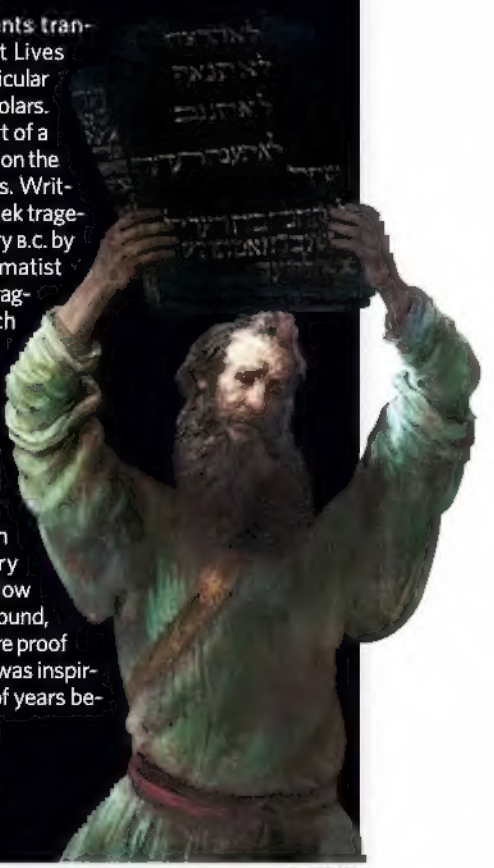


OLD REVELATIONS PAPYRUS FROM OXYRHYNCHUS WITH A FRAGMENT FROM THE BOOK OF REVELATION. BRITISH LIBRARY, LONDON

BRIDGEMAN/ACI

THERE'S NO BUSINESS LIKE SHOW BUSINESS

ONE OF THE documents transcribed in the Ancient Lives project has caused particular excitement among scholars. It was identified as part of a lost five-act play based on the biblical Book of Exodus. Written in the form of a Greek tragedy in the second century B.C. by Ezekiel—a Jewish dramatist from Alexandria—the fragment includes a speech by Moses about the moment he was discovered as a baby in the bulrushes. Historians have known of Ezekiel's play only from quotations by Christian writers, such as the fourth-century theologian Eusebius. Now that this text has been found, historians have yet more proof that the role of Moses was inspiring actors thousands of years before Charlton Heston.



MOSES BY REMBRANDT, 1659. GEMÄLDEGALERIE, BERLIN

BRIDGEMAN/ACI

mostly written in Greek and Latin, from the third century B.C. to the seventh century A.D.

The papyri were shipped to Britain. Most of the fragments are now housed in museums and libraries in Oxford, London, and the United States. Scholars hoped these ancient scraps could lift a veil on the classical and early Christian world, and they were not disappointed. Over the past century, the trove has yielded fragments of apocryphal books of the Bible, sections of poems and plays thought long lost, as well as more mundane finds, like grocery lists and recipes for hangover cures.

The Power of Teamwork

For decades, however, the sheer size of the task has overwhelmed researchers. Only 5,000 of the half a million total pieces had been transcribed by 2012. The Ancient Lives project was devised in 2012 to tackle the backlog.

The brainchild of Oxford University researchers and the London-based Egypt Exploration Society, Ancient Lives assigns papyrus fragments to volunteers in the form of a digital scan. Using the online portal, volunteers transcribe each letter from the scanned fragment. The results are then tabulated with other transcriptions, providing researchers with the basic data to begin the process of translating, dating, identifying, and linking papyri.

Oxford University papyrologist Dirk Obbink said that more than 100,000 fragments have been transcribed since the project was launched.

The findings have not disappointed. One volunteer transcription led researchers to identify a fragment of a play based on the biblical Book of Exodus. Written by the Jewish tragedian Ezekiel in the second century B.C., the section includes a monologue spoken by Moses.

The collection is of immense interest to historians, not only for what people in Oxyrhynchus were reading, but for how they were living. Another document, also transcribed with the help of volunteers, is a poignant doctor's report from the third century A.D. It records the "accidental death," of a 12-year-old slave girl, found "twisted and lifeless" in a sluice gate after swimming with her friends. With many thousands of pieces transcribed, and many thousands still to go, more such insights into everyday life in this Egyptian city are eagerly awaited. ■

KASSEL IN 1783, the capital of the Protestant state of Hesse, whose Prince Karl was one of many high-profile figures linked to the Illuminati. Oil painting by J. H. Tischbein

Adam Weishaupt: Founder of the Illuminati

In May 1776 a Bavarian university professor founded the Illuminati, a secret society whose rituals and members were shrouded in mystery. Despite being outlawed by the Bavarian government in the late 1780s, the Illuminati's cultural reach has continued to grow.

The 18th-century German thinker Adam Weishaupt would have been stunned if he had known his ideas would one day fuel global conspiracy theories, and inspire best-selling novels and blockbuster films.

Until he was 36, the vast majority of his compatriots would have been equally stunned to discover that this outwardly respectable professor was a dangerous enemy of the state, whose secret society, the Illuminati, was seen to threaten the very fabric of society.

Born in 1748 in Ingolstadt, a city in the Electorate of Bavaria (now part of modern-day Germany), Weishaupt was a descendant of Jewish converts to Christianity. Orphaned at a young age, his scholarly uncle took care of his education, and enrolled him in a Jesuit school. After completing his studies, Weishaupt became a professor of natural and canon law at the University of Ingolstadt, married, and started a family. On the surface, it was a conventional enough career—until 1784 when the Bavarian state learned of his incendiary ideas.

A closer look at his upbringing, however, reveals that Weishaupt always had a restless mind. As a boy he was an avid reader, consuming books by the latest French Enlightenment philosophers in

BRIDGEMAN/ACI

FREEMASONS, LIKE MANY SECRET SOCIETIES, HELD INITIATION CEREMONIES. ENGRAVING FROM 1733

BRIDGEMAN/ACI

SECRET RITUALS, INTIMATE DETAILS

SECRET PAPERS seized by the Bavarian authorities revealed fascinating details about the rituals of the Illuminati. A novice preparing to pass to the higher level of minerval, for example, had to present a detailed report on the titles of the books he owned, the identity of his enemies, and the weak points of his character. Upon initiation as a minerval, he promised to sacrifice all personal interests to those of the society.

his uncle's library. Bavaria at that time was deeply conservative and Catholic. Weishaupt was not the only one who believed that the monarchy and the church were repressing freedom of thought.

Convinced that religious ideas were no longer an adequate belief system to govern modern societies, he decided to find another form of "illumination," a set of ideas and practices that could be applied to radically change the way European states were run.

Freemasonry was steadily expanding throughout Europe in this period, offering attractive alternatives to freethinkers. Weishaupt initially thought of joining a lodge. Disillusioned with many of the Freemasons' ideas, however, he became absorbed in books dealing with such esoteric themes as the Mysteries of the Seven Sages of Memphis and the Kabbala, and decided to found a new secret society of his own.

> The Illuminati aimed to create "a state of liberty and moral equality."
>
> **ADAM WEISHAUPT** FOUNDER OF THE ILLUMINATI

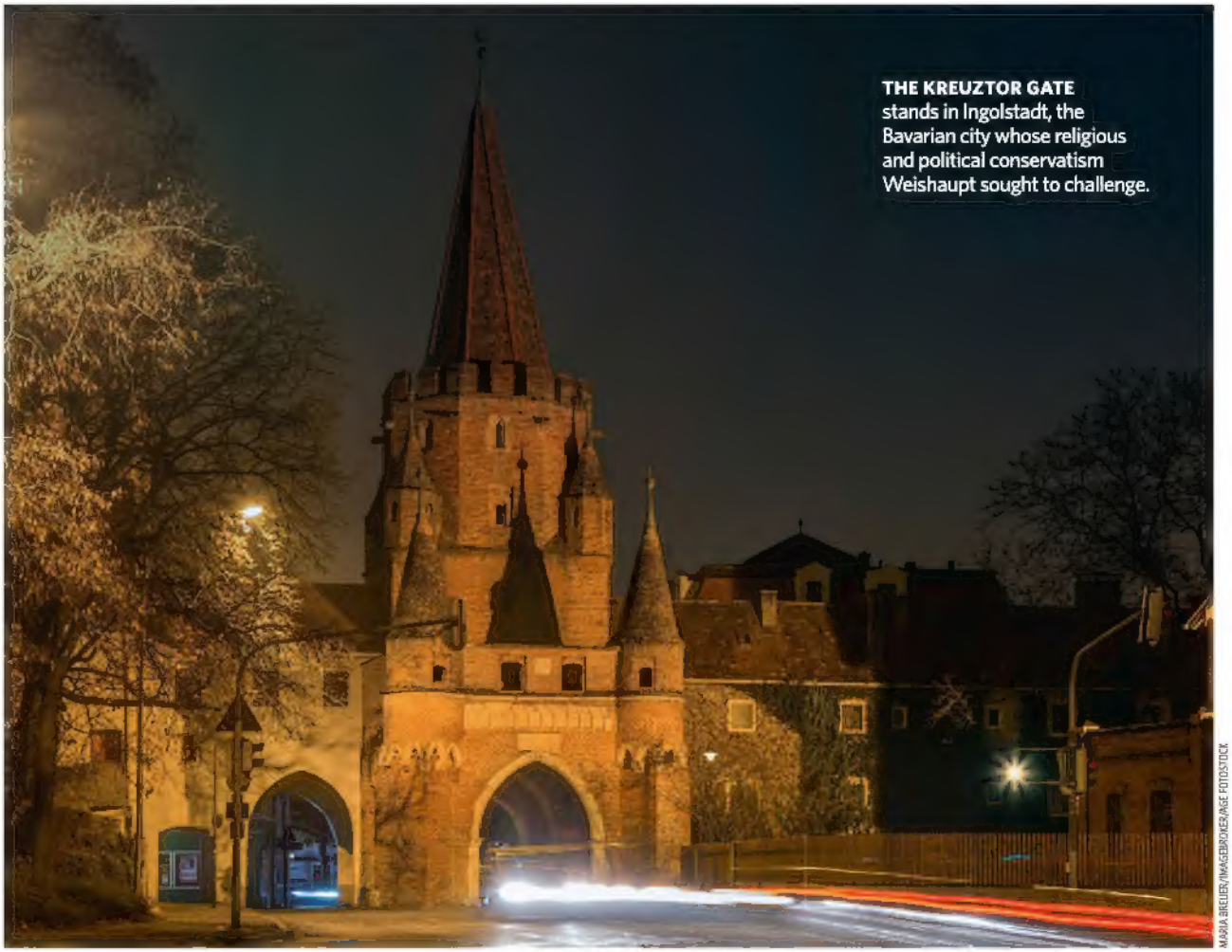
KARGER-DECKER/AGE FOTOSTOCK

Society of Secrets

Weishaupt was not, he said, against religion itself, but rather the way in which it was practiced and imposed. His thinking, he wrote, offered freedom "from all religious prejudices; cultivates the social virtues; and animates them by a great, a feasible, and speedy prospect of universal happiness." To achieve this, it was necessary to create "a state of liberty and moral equality, freed from the obstacles which subordination, rank, and riches, continually throw in our way."

On the night of May 1, 1776, the first Illuminati met to found the order in a forest near Ingolstadt. Bathed in torchlight, there were five men. There they established the rules that were to govern the order. All future candidates for admission required the members' consent, a strong reputation with well-established familial and social connections, and wealth.

In the beginning, the order's membership had three levels: novices, minervals, and illuminated minervals. "Minerval" referred to the Roman goddess of wisdom, Minerva, reflecting the order's aim to spread true knowledge, or illumination, about how society, and the state, might be reshaped.



THE KREUZTOR GATE stands in Ingolstadt, the Bavarian city whose religious and political conservatism Weishaupt sought to challenge.

MARIA BREUER/IMAGEBROKER/AGE FOTOSTOCK

Over the following years, Weishaupt's secret order grew considerably in size and diversity, possibly numbering 600 members by 1782. They included important people in Bavarian public life, such as Baron Adolph von Knigge and the banker Mayer Amschel Rothschild, who provided funding. Although, at first, the Illuminati were limited to Weishaupt's students, the membership expanded to included noblemen, politicians, doctors, lawyers, and jurists, as well as intellectuals and some leading writers, including Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. By the end of 1784, the Illuminati had 2,000 to 3,000 members.

Baron von Knigge played a very considerable role in the society's organization and expansion. As a former Freemason, he was in favor of adopting rites similar to theirs. Members of the Illuminati were given a symbolic "secret" name taken from classical antiquity: Weishaupt was Spartacus, for example, and Knigge was Philo. The membership levels also became a more complex hierarchy. There were a total of 13 degrees of initiation, divided into three classes. The first culminated in the degree of *illuminatus minor*, the second *illuminatus dirigens*, and the third, that of king.

THE FRENCH CONNECTION

AFTER THE FRENCH REVOLUTION began in 1789, the Illuminati were accused of desiring a similar revolt against the Bavarian regime. Some even claimed that Weishaupt had met the French revolutionary leader Robespierre. In reality, Weishaupt was more of a reformer than a firebrand revolutionary.

CHARLES THEODORE, DUKE-ELECTOR OF BAVARIA (1777-1799)

AKG/ALBUM

An Inside Job

Pressures both internal and external, however, would soon put an end to the order's expansion into

The Ascent to Illumination

THE ORDER of the Illuminati's complex, 13-grade structure was devised by Baron von Knigge, who applied the model used in the masonic lodges of which he had been a member.

THIRD CLASS

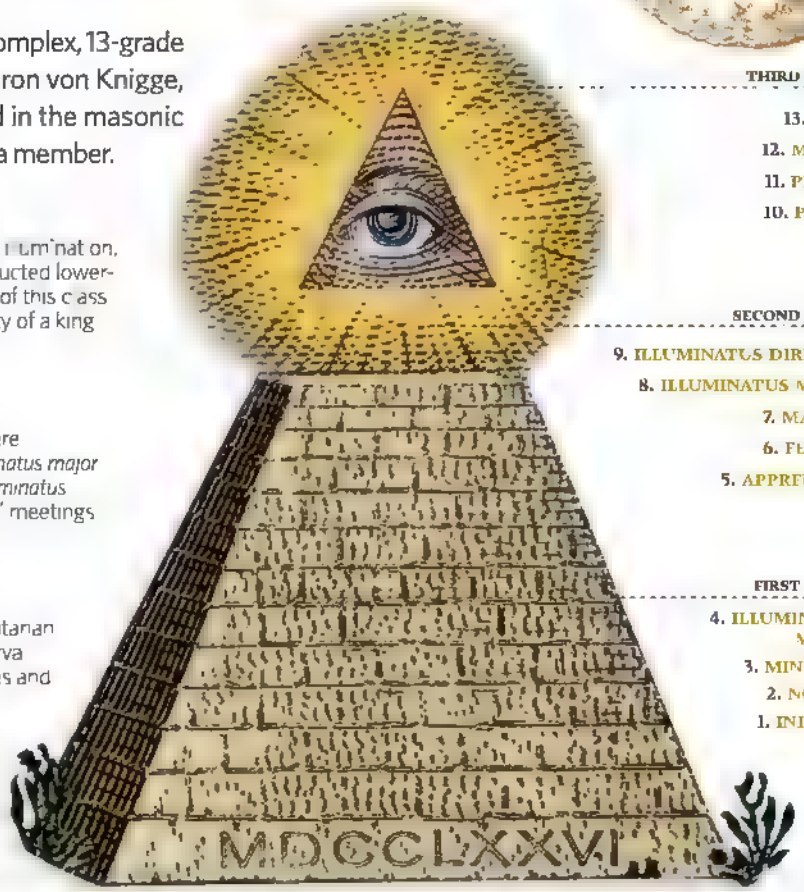
The highest degree of philosophical illumination. Its members were priests who instructed lower-degree members. The lower orders of this class were themselves under the authority of a king

SECOND CLASS

The various degrees in this class were inspired by Freemasonry. The *illuminatus major* supervised recruitment, and the *illuminatus dirigens* presided over the minerva's meetings

FIRST CLASS

Each novice was initiated in humanitarian philosophy until he became a minerva. He then received the order's statutes and could attend meetings.



ABOVE RIGHT MINERVA, SEAL OF THE ILLUMINATI. **CENTER:** THE CHRISTIAN EYE OF PROVIDENCE (AS SHOWN ON THE GREAT SEAL OF THE U.S.A.). LATER A SYMBOL OF FREEMASONRY

IMAGE: PRISMA

the upper echelons of Bavarian power. Weishaupt and Knigge increasingly fought over the aims and procedures of the order, a conflict that, in the end, forced Knigge to leave the society. At the same time, another ex-member, Joseph Utzschneider, wrote a letter to the Grand Duchess of Bavaria, supposedly lifting the lid on this most secret of societies.

The revelations were a mix of truth and lies. According to Utzschneider, the Illuminati believed that suicide was legitimate, that its enemies should be poisoned, and that religion was an absurdity. He also suggested that the Illuminati were conspiring against Bavaria on behalf of Austria. Having been warned by his wife, the Duke-Elector of Bavaria issued an edict in June 1784 banning the creation of any kind of society not previously authorized by law.

The Illuminati initially thought that this general prohibition would not directly affect them. But just under a year later, in March 1785, the Bavarian sovereign passed a second edict, which expressly banned the order. In the course of carrying out arrests of members, Bavarian police found highly compromising documents, including a defense of suicide and atheism, a plan to create a female branch of the order, invisible ink recipes, and medical instructions for carrying out abortions. The evidence was used as the basis for accusing the order of conspiring against religion and the state. In August 1787, the duke-elector issued a third edict in which he confirmed that the order was prohibited, and imposed the death penalty for membership.

Weishaupt lost his post at the University of Ingolstadt and was banished. He lived the rest of his life in Gotha in Saxony where he taught philosophy at the University of Göttingen. The Bavarian state considered the Illuminati dismantled.

Their legacy, however, has endured and fuels many conspiracy theories. Weishaupt was accused—falsely—of helping to plot the French Revolution. The Illuminati have been fingered in recent events, such as the assassination of John F. Kennedy. Weishaupt's ideas have also influenced the realms of popular fiction, such as Dan Brown's *Angels & Demons* and *Foucault's Pendulum* by Italian novelist Umberto Eco. Although his group was disbanded, Weishaupt's lasting contribution may be the idea that secret societies linger behind the scenes, pulling the levers of power.

—Isabel Hernández

Pasta's Twisted History

Today pasta is often an everyday meal—affordable, delicious, and full of variety. This mundane dish, however, has noble roots. Once reserved for Italy's medieval nobility, pasta's popularity turned it into a staple of the Neapolitan diet in the 1700s.

During the 20th century, Americans developed a love affair with pasta. On the big screen, spaghetti played memorable roles in classic films such as the Marx Brothers' *Night at the Opera* (1935), Disney's *Lady and the Tramp* (1955), and *Goodfellas* (1990).

Pasta became an increasingly common sight on restaurant menus in the United States, but the Italians' love affair with pasta has a long, complex, and passionate history. The route by which spaghetti, ravioli, and tortellini became international household names has taken some surprising turns over the centuries.

Made from the flour of durum wheat, pasta takes its name from the pasty texture of the dough when it is first mixed. Different pastas have different names, many based on the different shapes the dough is molded into. Fresh pasta is often mixed, cooked, and eaten right away, whereas *pasta secca* is dried in order to be stored; it is often prepared later by cooking it in boiling water.

The production process is simple, but the uses the finished product are put to are dizzyingly varied. The different shapes of pasta—cut into squares, rolled into tubes, pulled into long strings, and twisted into spirals—stretch to at least 200 types, any one of which might be used in a huge array of sauces and accompaniments, all with their regional variations.

A Pasta Tree

Pasta's ethnic roots have been long debated. Many theories have been put forward, some notably far-fetched. An enduring myth, based on the writings of the 13th-century explorer Marco Polo, that pasta was brought to Italy from China, rose from a misinterpretation of a famous passage in Polo's *Travels*. In it, Polo mentions a tree from which something like pasta was made. It was probably the sago palm, which produces a starchy food that resembles, but is not pasta. This food almost certainly reminded the Venetian traveler of the pasta of his home country. Even while Polo was away on his travels in the 1270s, there is a reference to a soldier in the northern Italian city of Genoa, who owned a basket of *"macaronis."* A century before, the Muslim geographer al-Idrisi wrote of seeing pasta produced on Sicily.

MANGIAMACCHERONI Saverio de la Gatta's early 19th-century take on a popular artistic genre, portraying the "macaroni eaters" of Naples

CHRISTIE'S IMAGES/SCALA, FLORENCE

BRIDGEMAN/AC

COTTAGE INDUSTRY

THIS 14TH-CENTURY Italian miniature (left) shows two stages in pasta making. The woman to the right is kneading the dough while her colleague is hanging cut strips of vermicelli—little worms—to dry on a rack. Much later, a thicker variation of vermicelli developed, today known as spaghetti.

TACUINUM SANITATIS IN MEDICINA, AUSTRIAN NATIONAL LIBRARY, VIENNA

Pasta Poetry: Goethe's Italian Journey

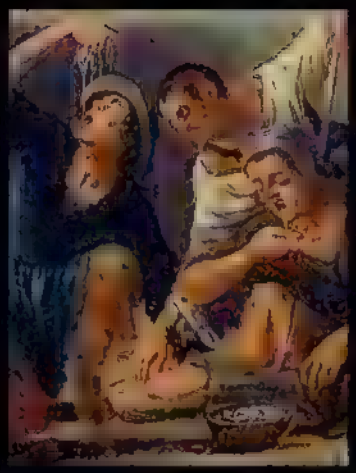
THE CITY OF NAPLES and the surrounding region, including Sicily, saw a surge in the production of pasta in the 17th and 18th centuries. On a visit to the Kingdom of Naples in 1787, the German poet Goethe witnessed the pasta boom firsthand.

"It can be bought everywhere and in all the shops for very little money. As a rule it is simply cooked in water and seasoned with grated cheese." One day he was visiting Agrigento in Sicily with some friends. They stayed in the home of a family who gave them a dish of macaroni, whose shape, texture, and color fascinated the German writer. As they sat at the table, their hosts explained that this type of pasta was made only from the highest quality hard wheat, and then formed by hand into a spiral shape like a snail's shell. "This macaroni they served us was exquisite ... The pasta seemed unparalleled to me in its whiteness and fineness."

Many Italian writers have argued that a tomb from the fourth century B.C. bears a relief of pasta-making equipment, suggesting the dish was being enjoyed in pre-Roman Italy. Many food historians, however, dispute this interpretation of the relief. They point out that Roman-era references to anything resembling pasta are scarce, and that the dish probably took hold in Italy as a result of extensive Mediterranean trading in the Middle Ages. From the 13th century, references to

FOOD FOR THE COMMON MAN

THREE NEAPOLITAN beggars, or *lazzaroni*, eating a dish of macaroni with their hands in the middle of a street. The detail is from the oil painting "Macaroni Eaters" by Domenico Gargiulo, a 17th-century native of the city where cheap wheat and rising meat prices were turning pasta into an affordable staple.



DEA/ALBUM

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pasta dishes—macaroni, ravioli, gnocchi, vermicelli—crop up with increasing frequency across the Italian Peninsula.

Pasta's popularity is mentioned by the 14th-century writer Boccaccio. In his collection of earthy tales, *The Decameron*, he recounts a mouthwatering fantasy concerning a mountain of Parmesan cheese down which pasta chefs roll macaroni and ravioli to gluttons waiting below.

In the 1390s Franco Sacchetti, another poet and writer of tales, also tells how two friends meet up to eat macaroni. They both eat from the same dish, as was the custom of the time, but one of them has more of an appetite than the other: "Noddo started to pile the macaroni together, roll it up and swallow it down. He had sent six mouthfuls down the hatch while Giovanni's first one was still on the fork. He did not dare put it in his mouth as the food was steaming."

What did the pasta that Noddo bolts down with such relish taste like? Throughout the Middle Ages, until the start of the 16th century, pasta dishes were markedly different from those eaten today. Not only was pasta cooked for longer—there was none of the modern-day preference for pasta al dente—it was also mixed with ingredients that would seem surprising now, often combining sweet, savory, and spicy flavors.

Pasta was considered a dish for the wealthy, taking pride of place in aristocratic banquets during the Renaissance. For example, Bartolomeo Scappi, a papal chef in the middle of the 16th century, created a third course for a banquet consisting of boiled chicken accompanied with ravioli filled with a paste made of boiled pork belly, cow udders, roast pork, Parmesan cheese, fresh cheese, sugar, herbs, spices, and raisins.

Scappi's recipe for *maccheroni alla romanesca* was similarly elaborate. Flour and breadcrumb dough was mixed with goat's milk and egg yolk and flattened

DEA/ALBUM

MACARONI MUNCHER 17TH-CENTURY PLATE FROM SOUTHERN ITALY

> Pasta was cooked for longer, with none of the modern-day preference for pasta al dente.

The Pasta Factory

PAUL-JACQUES MALOUIN was a French scientist who brought the trade of *vermicilier* to Paris. He also brought the industrial production techniques he had seen in Naples to the French capital, including the kneading machine and screw press, whose workings he demonstrates in an engraving from a book he published in 1767

CNUM-CONSERVATOIRE NUMÉRIQUE DES ARTS ET MÉTIERS. CNUM.CNAM.FR

into a sheet, which was then cut into thin strips with a roller cutter *(bussolo)*, to make the noodles. After being left to dry, the macaroni was boiled for half an hour, strained and covered with grated cheese, slices of butter, sugar, cinnamon and pieces of *provatura*, a Roman variant of mozzarella cheese. Finally, the dish baked in the oven for half an hour with a little rose water so the cheese would melt, while the macaroni was imbued with the flavor of the spices. It is no surprise that another 16th-century author, Giulio Cesare Croce, put macaroni on his list of "fattening dishes."

Food of Beggars and Kings

Pasta, by the late 17th century in Naples, was becoming the main staple of the common diet. Neapolitans had been nicknamed leaf-eaters *(mangiafoglia)* in the 1500s. From the 1700s they started to be called macaroni-eaters *(mangiamaccheroni)* instead. Several explanations have been put forward for this. One is a deterioration in the common people's standard of living, which significantly limited their access to meat, while the large landowners in the Kingdom of Naples or Sicily sold wheat relatively cheaply. Religious restrictions also had an influence on the changing diet: Pasta was an ideal food for days when eating meat was forbidden. But perhaps the main reason for pasta's dramatic spread was that, from the 17th century, industrial pasta production was developed with the use of machines such as the *torchio*, a mechanical press to make noodles or vermicelli.

In Naples pasta became identified with beggars, or *lazzaroni*. "When a *lazzarone* has gotten four or five coins together to eat some macaroni that day, he ceases to care about tomorrow and stops working," a traveler said. That did not prevent pasta from conquering the palates of the upper classes. King Ferdinand IV of Naples devoured macaroni with gusto: "He picked them up with his fingers, twisting and pulling them, and voraciously stuffed them in his mouth, spurning the use of a knife, fork or spoon."

Several things that have changed drastically over time are the flavorings added to pasta. Sweetness has been replaced by savory, sugar swapped out for vegetables, which helped make pasta a nutritionally complete dish. Then, at the beginning of the 19th century, tomatoes were added. For a long time Italians considered them to be too exotic. In fact, it is not until 1844 that the first recipe appears for the most common pasta dish today: spaghetti in tomato sauce.

—Alfonso López

William Tell: Symbol of Swiss Independence

The rebellious archer and his famous apple may be the stuff of legend, but William Tell's power as a national icon found its roots in Switzerland's struggle for liberty in the 1300s.

The Cantons Come Together

1273

The first German king of the Habsburg dynasty Rudolf I extends control over the growing wealth of the Alpine cantons

1291

Three cantons, Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden, swear to aid one another in the growing struggle against their Habsburg overlords.

1315

Swiss forces defeat Imperial soldiers at the Battle of Morgarten, a surprising victory for the fledgling Confederation.

1332

The canton of Lucerne joins the Confederation, followed by the key city of Zurich 19 years later

Apples and arrows: These essential elements immediately call to mind the story of William Tell, the Swiss marksman forced to shoot an apple off his son's head. The story first gained widespread popularity when German playwright Friedrich von Schiller published a work in 1804 based on the folktale. Italian composer Gioacchino Rossini's 1829 opera catapulted the tale to an even wider audience. (The overture is most famous today as the theme music for *The Lone Ranger*). In the 20th century the William Tell motif has appeared in cartoons starring Popeye and Peabody and Sherman.

While popular culture delights in the story and the music from the opera, the legend has much deeper roots in Swiss heritage. William Tell occupies a central role in the history of Switzerland's struggles for independence from Austria in the early 14th century.

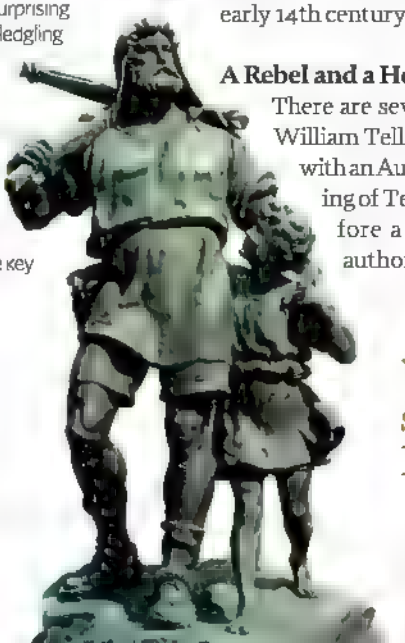
A Rebel and a Hero

There are several iterations of the William Tell story, but most begin with an Austrian governor learning of Tell's refusal to bow before a symbol of Austrian authority, a hat placed on a post in the town square. Knowing Tell's fame as a marksman, the governor crafts a sadistic punishment for him: He must shoot an apple placed on his youngest son's head. If he succeeds and hits the apple, he will go free. If he fails and strikes his son, then Tell will be arrested.

Tell selects two arrows, loads one into the crossbow, and fires. His clean shot strikes the apple and leaves the boy unharmed. The governor then asks Tell: Why did you select two arrows when you had just one shot? Tell replies that if he had missed, then he would have fired the second arrow at the governor.

The threat results in Tell's arrest. In some versions of the story, a violent storm breaks out as he is escorted to jail, allowing Tell to escape. He makes his way to the governor's castle and kills him with the notorious second arrow. The Austrian tyrant meets his deserved end.

After killing the governor, Schiller's play has Tell meeting with three other Swiss leaders in a meadow. The four men take an oath, swearing to aid and defend their lands from oppressors. This episode dramatizes another of Switzerland's founding myths, the tale of the Rütli Oath. Tell is not a character in the standard version, in which the lords of the cantons (sovereign districts) of Uri,



William Tell remains a potent symbol of the Swiss fight against the Habsburgs in the late 13th century.

A TALE TO TELL MONUMENT TO WILLIAM TELL AND HIS SON BY RICHARD KISSLING, ALTDORF, SWITZERLAND
FOTOTECA 9X12

STEADY AIM The crossbow was a medieval missile launcher, feared for its destructive [illegible] century.

TONY QUERREC/MUSEE DE L'ARMÉE/RMN-GRAND PALAIS

Schwyz, and Unterwalden meet one night beside Lake Lucerne in a meadow called Rütli. Here they swear to help free themselves from the yoke of the Austrian Habsburgs, the powerful dynasty that would later play a major role in European history well beyond the Alps.

The Power of a Story

The story of the meadow oath is a picturesque version of a much messier and protracted struggle to control the vital mountain passes that lay between the Italian Peninsula and the rest of Europe.

In the late 13th century the area attracted the interest of the Habsburg dynasty of neighboring Austria. The power brokers of the Holy Roman Empire—a complex of kingdoms stretching over modern-day Germany, Austria, eastern France, and northern Italy—the Habsburgs were keen to extend their control over the Swiss cantons. The recent opening of the first Alpine passes in Simplon and St. Gotthard had increased the strategic importance of an area previously isolated. However, a long tradition of alliances had developed among the rulers of these Alpine communities, and growing Habsburg interference in their sphere bred resentment and accentuated their desire to fight for freedom.

In 1291, after the death of Rudolf I of the House of Habsburg, the governing families of three cantons strengthened their alliance, by means of a written oath, to form the League of the Three Forest Cantons: "All the people of the valleys Uri, Schwyz, and those of the valley of

REBEL CITY Modern Switzerland's largest city, Zurich defied Habsburg control in 1351 to join forces with the central cantons.

SAM_DARUMA/GETTY IMAGES

Unterwalden, mindful of these evil times, and in order to better defend themselves, have promised in good faith to give one another aid, advice and favor in the form of persons and goods . . . against each and every person that may use force, harm or injury against any of them, or harm their persons or property."

Birth of a Nation

A clash with the Austrians was only a matter of time, and in 1315, following a Habsburg attempt to invade the canton of Schwyz, the three-way alliance routed the Habsburg forces at the Battle of Morgarten. The stunning victory by a non-professional force against a host of trained Habsburg knights breathed new life into the pact and fanned the flames of anti-Austrian sentiments across the whole Alpine region.

In 1332 Lucerne joined forces with the rebel cantons, followed in 1351 by Zurich, a city governed directly by the empire. In time, other free cities and cantons also joined what came to be known as the Old Swiss Confederation, the precursor to modern Switzerland.

A National Hero

The liberation of the territories in what is now central Switzerland, and the creation of the first alliance between cantons, were the fruit of patient political negotiations. The Tell story of his rebellion against the tyrannical Habsburg governor provided a common legend around which the patchwork of emerging Swiss communities could rally.

WARRIORS OF THE ALPS

18TH-CENTURY WORKS such as Johannes von Müller's *History of the Swiss Confederation* popularized the image of the Swiss as a peace-loving people. The reality was very different. The tough conditions in the cantons sparked land disputes, settled by farmers skilled in the use of arms—such as this 15th-century crossbow—a training that helped the Swiss greatly when they faced the disciplined forces of the Habsburgs.

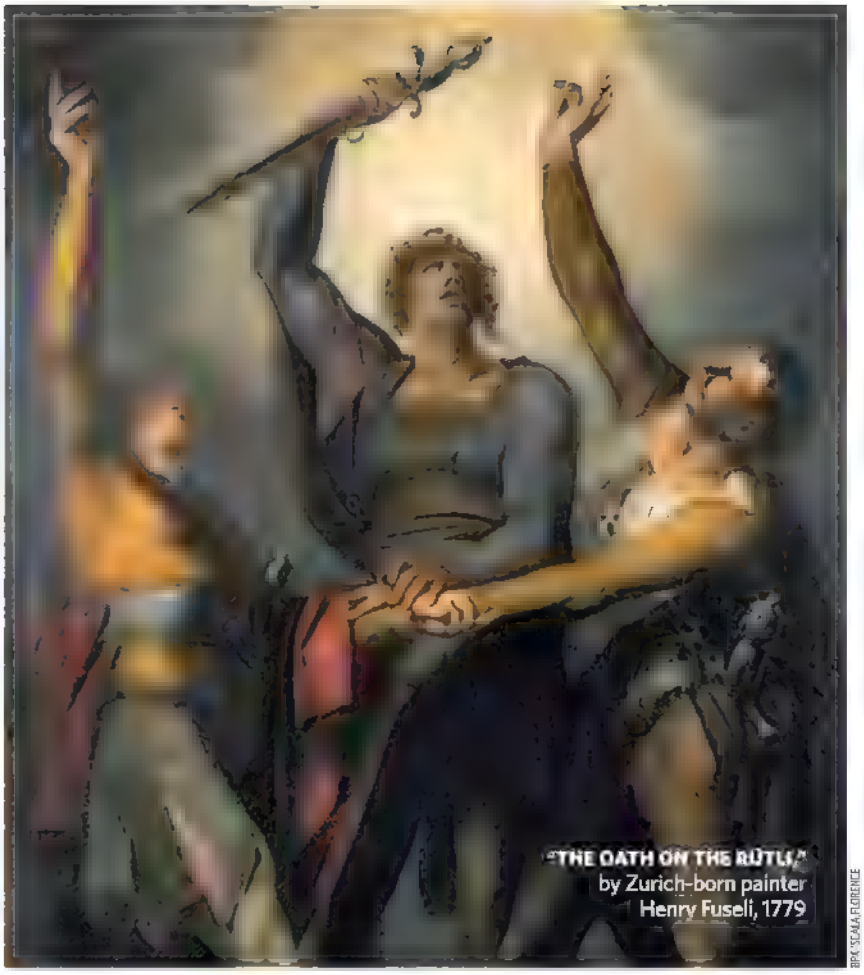
BRIDGEMAN/A-

BROTHERS IN ARMS

THE STORY of three lords meeting on the Rütli meadow and pledging to free their lands from Habsburg bondage is a myth. In 1291, however, three cantons in the center of modern-day Switzerland—Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden—agreed to aid one another against Habsburg encroachment. In the years to come, the triple alliance would be joined by other cities and cantons in a gradual progress toward modern statehood.

STAATSARCHIV, SCHWYZ

FEDERAL CHARTER OF THE CANTONS OF U.R., SCHWYZ, AND UNTERWALDEN, SIGNED IN 1291



"THE OATH ON THE RÜTLI," by Zurich-born painter Henry Fuseli, 1779

BPK/SCALA, FLORENCE

From the 1400s, the tale struck a deep chord in popular consciousness, and folk plays based on the story of William Tell were performed in rural localities for centuries.

The first extensive account of William Tell can be found in the Swiss scholar Gilg Tschudi's *Chronicon Helveticum—Swiss Chronicle*—which was written around 1570 but not widely published until the 18th century. Supposedly a history of the Swiss cantons between 1000 and 1470, the work was once considered an authoritative historical source. Tschudi's chronicle greatly expanded on events related to William Tell and was, in turn, used as the basis for the extensive account that the historian Johannes von Müller included in his multi-volume *History of the Swiss Confederation*, published 1786–1808. This work made William Tell the authentic representative of the Alpine national spirit and consolidated the image of the Swiss as a peace-loving people who lived in harmony with the surrounding countryside, and who managed to achieve independence through their courage alone.

By the 18th century the archer from Uri had become established as an official symbol of Swiss liberty. German playwright Friedrich von Schiller, despite never having visited Switzerland, shared the then fashionable love of Switzerland, which idealized it as a small nation that had won its freedom, in contrast to the despotism that reigned in other countries. The passionate words that Schiller put in the character's mouth helped cement William Tell as a symbol of universal freedom, and a precursor of the struggle for human rights: "What hands have built hands also can o'erthrow; Yon home of freedom God hath reared for us."

Even so, for all the power of such a story, the actual existence of a man called William Tell has long been regarded as doubtful. In the 19th century scholars found some of Tschudi's cited sources to be fabrications. Today his chronicle remains appreciated for its literary rather than scholarly merits.

The story is not recorded in any document written at the time of the events, nor is there any reference to a "William Tell" in the records of the period. "The tale about the apple is highly suspicious, as is everything that goes with it," the 18th-century French writer Voltaire commented. In spite of the skepticism, Tell's symbolic power remains intact as a representation of Swiss national identity. His fortitude still reminds the Swiss of their valiant struggle for freedom in the late 13th century.

—Isabel Hernández

The Pharaoh Takes a Wife

RAMSES' ROYAL WEDDING

Former enemies, the Egyptians and the Hittites first forged a political alliance. Then they strengthened it with a wedding when Ramses II married a Hittite princess and made her his queen.

IMPOSING TERMS
Statues of Ramses II line Abu Simbel's Great Temple, site of the stela recording the pharaoh's marriage to the daughter of the Hittite king Hattusilis III, whose royal seal (opposite) was used in his extensive correspondence with Egypt to set the terms for the dynastic union.

THIS PAGE: ARALDO DE LUCA; OPPOSITE: © THE TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM

The Reign of Ramses the Great

1279 B.C.
Son of Seti I, a great builder and warrior, Prince Ramses succeeds his father and becomes Pharaoh, taking the name Ramses II.

1275 B.C.
Egyptian and Hittite forces clash at the Battle of Kadesh. Ramses almost loses both the battle and his life, but presents it as a victory.

CIRCA 1264 B.C.
Construction begins on the great funerary temples of Abu Simbel in Lower Nubia to commemorate the Battle of Kadesh.

1258 B.C.
Ramses and the Hittite king Hattusilis III sign a peace treaty that brings their rivalry to control modern-day Syria and Israel to an end.

1249 B.C.
After ruling for 30 years, Ramses II celebrates his first royal jubilee at Pi-Ramses, his magnificent capital on the Nile River Delta.

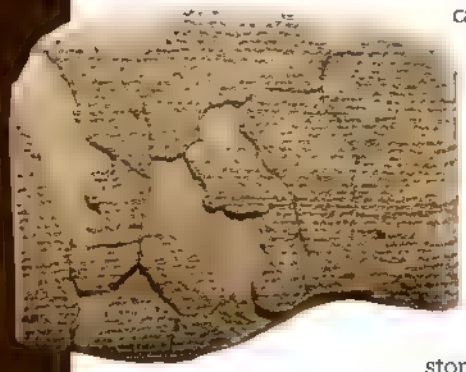
1245 B.C.
Ramses marries Hattusilis III's daughter. The princess takes the Egyptian name Maathorneferure.

1213 B.C.
Ramses II dies after more than 60 years on the throne. He is succeeded by his 13th son, Merneptah.

PRISMA/ALBUM

HITTITES IN THE NORTH

The impressive Lion Gate at Hattusha still stands where the Hittite capital sat in modern-day Turkey. The city was surrounded by a wall and had a population of 50,000 people.



TREATY BETWEEN RAMSES II AND HATTUSILIS III. ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM, ISTANBUL, TURKEY

Ramses II enjoyed one of the longest reigns in Egyptian history. He spent more than 65 years on the throne during a period of military and cultural splendor which would win him the title Ramses the Great.

In 1249 B.C. Ramses II had been ruling for 30 years. To commemorate such a notable occasion, pharaohs held jubilee celebrations known as Heb Sed. Ramses chose his magnificent new capital city, Pi-Ramses, to stage a suitably lavish celebration for this milestone.

Nothing, for the moment, imperiled the prosperity and security of Egypt, especially the Hittites to the north, whose empire spread over modern-day Turkey and northern Syria. Ramses II had defeated them in 1275 B.C. at the Battle of Kadesh. Ramses presented his win as a crushing victory over the Hittites. He had 60-foot-tall statues of himself carved out of the sandstone in Lower Nubia near the Nile at Abu Simbel. Scenes of the battle adorn the halls of these astonishing funerary temples, exemplifying

FUNKYSTOCK/AGE FOTOSTOCK

RAMSES II RECEIVES AN ENVOY FROM HATTUSILS I

MORE THAN MESSENGERS

IN THE SECOND MILLENNIUM B.C. rulers did not usually meet one another as they do at modern summits. Diplomacy was conducted through people referred to by the Akkadian term *mar shipri*. These civil servants were both messengers and ambassadors at the same time, and many had royal or aristocratic blood. They bore expensive gifts, and were received with pomp and ceremony.

H. M. HERGET

Ramses' dual role as builder and public relations expert. Historians now know, by comparing Hittite and Egyptian accounts of the battle, that the outcome of Kadesh was probably less one-sided than Ramses' depiction.

In 1258 B.C., partly as a result of that battle, the Hittite king, Hattusilis III, agreed to sign a treaty to bring the long hostilities between the two empires to an end, ushering in one of ancient Egypt's most creative and prosperous periods. Nine years later, around the time of his 30-year jubilee, Ramses and the Hittites decided to work for a closer, political alliance by proposing a marriage between the pharaoh and a Hittite princess. And not just any princess: Envoys sent from the Egyptian capital, Pi-Ramses, made it clear the pharaoh had his eye on no one other than King Hattusilis's firstborn daughter.

The two courts embarked on lengthy negotiations, whose twists and turns historians have interpreted from the clay tablets preserved in the archives of the Hittite capital, Hattusha, in the central region of modern Turkey. Discovered by archaeologists in 1906-08, the tablets have provided a wealth of detail on the day-to-day diplomacy between these two ancient empires and the intricate details involved in planning a royal union.

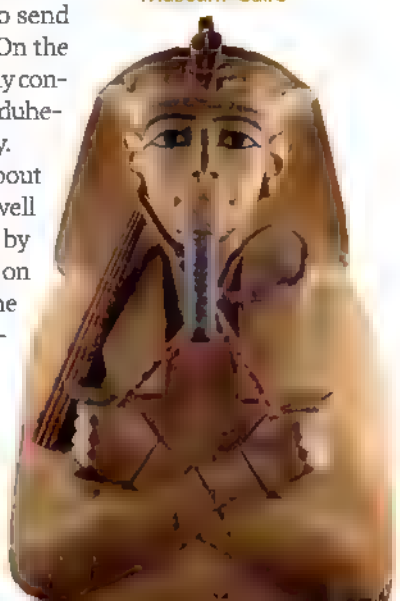
A Tough-talking Queen

Written in cuneiform, the ancient writing was formed by pressing a wedge-shaped tool into wet clay. The Hittite tablets reveal how the pharaoh's emissaries convinced the king to send Ramses II a formal marriage proposal. On the Hittite side, the arrangements were mainly conducted by Hattusilis's consort, Queen Puduhepa, who focused on her daughter's dowry.

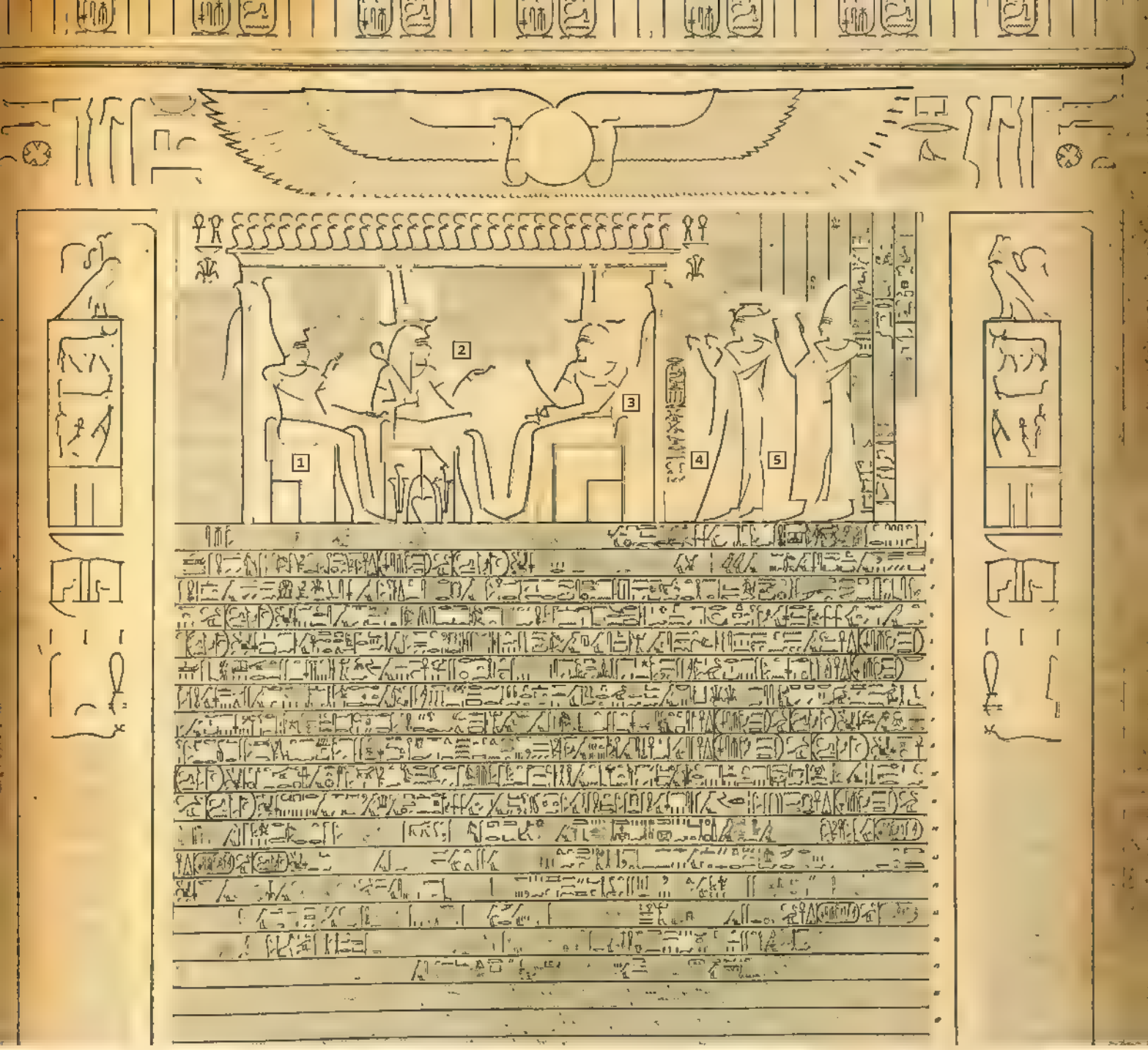
When Ramses' envoys complained about the delay in the new bride's arrival, as well as the pithy size of the dowry promised by the Hittites, Puduhepa wrote to blame it on shortages and a fire that had ravaged the royal storehouses. The queen also reproached the pharaoh—whom she addressed as a "brother"—for his greed. "Does my brother have no possessions? ...But brother, you are getting rich at my

MASTER OF THE UNIVERSE

Awed courtiers addressed Ramses as *Lord of the Sky, Lord of the Earth, Lord of Destiny*
Coffin case of Ramses II, Egyptian Museum, Cairo



D. LOUIS MAZZATENTA



MARRIAGE RECORD

THE ACCOUNT of the Hittite princess's journey to Pi-Ramses was engraved on a large stela in the Great Temple at Abu Simbel. The Marriage Stela opens by exalting the pharaoh, portraying the Hittites as a subordinate power: "Thou commandest them . . . forever and ever, together with the whole land of Kheta [the Hittites]. While thou shinest upon the throne of Re, every land is under [thy] feet, forever." The stela then recounts the journey undertaken by the princess and her retinue. "Then they [came] with [their] possessions, and [their] splendid [gifts] before them, of silver and gold. The great chiefs of every land came, they were bowed down, turning back in fear, when they saw [his majesty]."

WEDDING GUESTS

The relief above the text shows Ramses II [1], enthroned, wearing the white crown of Upper Egypt. The gods Ptah [2] and Seth [3] sit with him. Standing to the right is his bride, Queen Maathorneferure [4], and her father, King Hattusilis [5], who did not accompany his daughter to Egypt. They both pay homage to the pharaoh and the gods.

BIBLIOTHEK JUNIVERSITÄT HALLE

EOSGIS—DM

THE BRIDAL BRIGADE TO EGYPT

HAVING LEFT HATTUSHA, Hattusilis's daughter and her entourage headed south through modern-day Turkey to Adana, a city near the Mediterranean coast. From there, they proceeded through the Kingdom of Kizzuwatna to Aleppo in modern-day Syria, and finally to Kadesh, where the Egyptians and Hittites fought the famous battle years before. It was here, on the border of the Egyptian territories, that Queen Puduhepa bid farewell forever to her daughter. All that is known about the rest of the journey is what the Marriage Stela relates: The Hittite princess entered Egypt's capital, Pi-Ramses, in the third month of the winter-spring season (*peret*) in the 34th year of Ramses' reign: February of the year 1245 B.C.

expense! That is unbecoming of a great lord's renown and dignity."

Nevertheless, she told him he would be satisfied: "The dowry will be more beautiful than the King of Babylon's . . . I will send my daughter this year; servants, cattle, sheep and horses will go with her." A subsequent letter said the princess would take "magnificent tribute in the form of gold, silver, bronze, slaves, teams of horses, cattle, goats and thousands of sheep as gifts for the pharaoh."

The main demand on the Hittite side was that the princess should hold the rank of principal wife. She was not to be a mere secondary spouse, in the same category as other Near Eastern princesses who had joined the pharaoh's harem. Making the princess his principal wife was the only concession Ramses was willing to make.

Any suggestion that he might send Hattusilis an Egyptian princess in return was unthinkable. Pharaohs had entered into arranged marriages with foreign princesses for more than a century. Ramses himself had five non-Egyptian wives and his predecessor had seven. But the pharaohs never allowed their own daughters to go abroad. It was their way of demonstrating that, for all the military power of the Hittites, an Egyptian pharaoh enjoyed the higher status, in spite of the pretense of treating one another as equals in their letters. When Kadashman-Enlil I, a Babylonian king, dared ask for the hand of an Egyptian princess, the reply was blunt. Ramses II merely reminded him that "since time immemorial no daughter of the King of Egypt has ever been given [in marriage]."

The Road to Pi-Ramses

In a letter to Ramses, Hattusilis wrote that the bride was ready for her journey, so the pharaoh's emissaries could set off to meet her at the border between the empires. "May they come and anoint my daughter's head with fine oil and take her to the home of the Great King, the King of the land of Egypt, my brother!"

This is the only marriage ritual mentioned in the correspondence. It

FAMILY JEWELS

After the wedding, amulets were issued with Maathorneferure's new name. Jewels helped impose royal authority, such as Ramses II's lavish pectoral, now held in the Louvre Museum, Paris.

DAGLI ORTI/CORBIS/CORDON PRESS

MONUMENT TO POWER
In 1264 B.C work began on the Great Temple of Abu Simbel, built to commemorate Egypt's victory over the Hittites at the Battle of Kadesh. Among the figures at the feet of the four statues of Ramses II is Queen Nefertari, one of Maathorneferure's predecessors.

MASSIMO PIZZOTTI/AGE FOTOSTOCK

was widespread practice in the Near East, and raised the woman to a higher rank when she was engaged to be married. When he found out the young woman was on her way, Ramses was jubilant. "The Sun God, the Storm God, the Gods of Egypt and the Gods of the Land of the Hittites have decreed that our two great countries be united forever," he wrote.

Few details about the bride have been recorded. The Hittite princess's identity is only recorded with her adopted Egyptian name, Maathorneferure. She traveled to Egypt accompanied by a vast retinue—a common practice in the dynastic marriages of the time. Just over a century before, a princess from the Mitannian empire in what is today northern Syria, had arrived at Amenhotep III's court with more than 3,300 ladies-in-waiting. These huge entourages acted as an ancient diplomatic service that could return valuable information back to their home countries. No wonder, then, that in one of her letters Queen Puduhepa insisted that those who were accompanying her daughter would be afforded full protection on arrival.

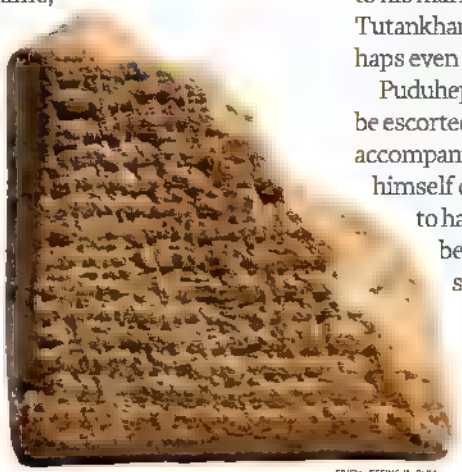
Puduhepa also took care to arrange security for the journey. The Hittite company may have been crossing vassal states, but they would never have been completely safe from attacks by bandits and nomads. Long remembered was an attack on a traveling Hittite prince a century earlier. He was killed en route to Egypt, more than likely by a faction from the Egyptian court that was opposed to his marriage to an Egyptian queen—possibly Tutankhamun's widow, Ankhesenamun, or perhaps even Akhenaten's widow, Nefertiti.

Puduhepa told Ramses that the princess would be escorted by Hittite troops, and that she would accompany her some of the way. King Hattusilis himself did not go with his daughter, because to have been seen in the retinue could have been interpreted as paying homage to a superior ruler.

Ramses, however, always the expert propagandist, simply ignored this absence when he documented the wedding. On the Marriage Stela in

THE ROYAL MAIL

Ramses wrote enthusiastically to Queen Puduhepa about his marriage to her daughter. "Two great countries will become a single land forever!" Below, a tablet sent by Ramses to Hattusilis III Louvre Museum, Paris



ERICH LESSING/ALBUM

› DAGLI ORTI/GETTY IMAGES

BRIDGEMAN/ACI

ASKING A DIVINE FAVOR

EGYPTIAN AND HITTITE CULTURE did have certain features in common. Teshub, the Hittite god of storms, was equivalent to the Egyptian divinity, Seth, who played a key role in the wedding preparations. The Marriage Stela records how Ramses II called on Seth to grant favorable weather for his bride-to-be's long journey south.

TESHUB, THE HITTITE VERSION OF SETH, ON A BASALT RELIEF FROM THE NINTH CENTURY B.C.

Ramses' temple of Abu Simbel, the Hittite king is shown alongside his daughter, both figures submissively approaching and honoring the pharaoh.

An Uncertain Fate

According to correspondence from the period of Akhenaten, roughly a century before Ramses II's jubilee, the quickest route from the Hittite capital to Egypt, took around a month and a half. However, the princess's party took from three to six months to complete the trip.

"They have traversed many mountains and difficult ways, that they might reach the boundaries of his majesty," recount the hieroglyphs of the Marriage Stela. The carved image shows Ramses awaiting her arrival, surrounded by the gods Ptah—one of the main state deities—and Seth, god of warfare and storms, for whom Ramses II's father, Seti I, was named.

The festivities to celebrate the new queen's arrival probably took place at Pi-Ramses, where the pharaoh's jubilee had been held four years before. Her new name, Maathorneferure—meaning "Neferure, she who sees Horus"—was tied to a belief system that, despite some similarities, would have seemed very different to what she knew in her native Hattusha. Her fate, from that point on, became tied to that of Egypt and Egyptian culture. When the wedding finally took place, in 1245 B.C., she did become Ramses' Great Royal Wife, as the previous queen, Isis-Nofret, had died after succeeding Queen Nefertari ten years earlier.

What became of the bride? Little about her life after marriage is known. She is not thought to have had any sons, although she probably bore a daughter. There is an inscription that proves that at one time Maathorneferure was living in the Gurob harem to the south of El Faiyum, which may mean that she lost her status as principal wife. In any case, a second Hittite princess later arrived to become Ramses' wife, suggesting that Maathorneferure died and a second marriage took place to renew the alliance between the two great powers of the ancient world.

SUSANA SOLER POLO
A SPECIALIST IN ANCIENT LANGUAGES, SOLER STUDIED AS AN EGYPTOLOGIST AT THE CLOS ARCHAEOLOGICAL FOUNDATION, BARCELONA, SPAIN.

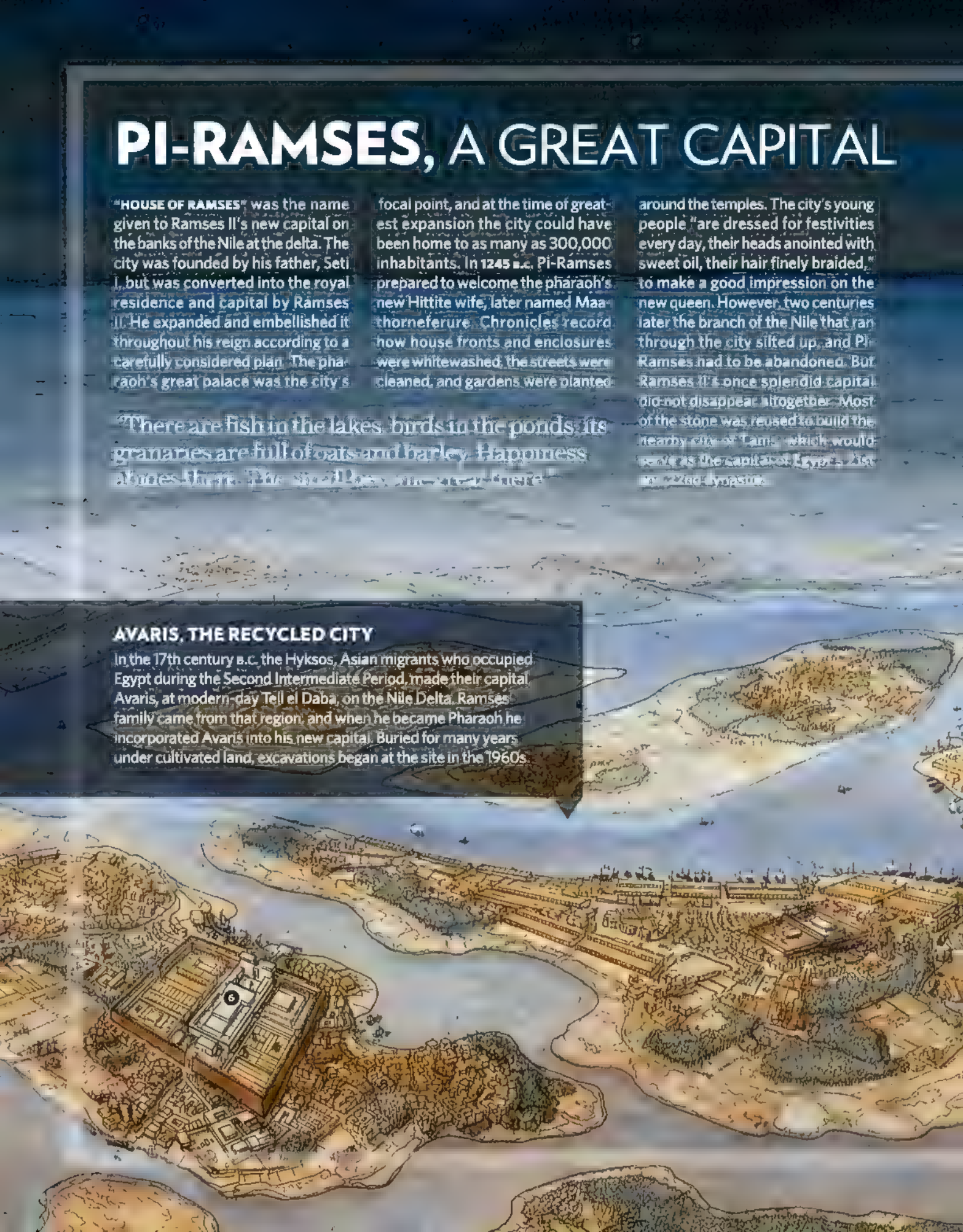
PI-RAMSES, A GREAT CAPITAL

"HOUSE OF RAMSES" was the name given to Ramses II's new capital on the banks of the Nile at the delta. The city was founded by his father, Seti I, but was converted into the royal residence and capital by Ramses II. He expanded and embellished it throughout his reign according to a carefully considered plan. The pharaoh's great palace was the city's focal point, and at the time of greatest expansion the city could have been home to as many as 300,000 inhabitants. In **1245 B.C.** Pi-Ramses prepared to welcome the pharaoh's new Hittite wife, later named Maathorneferure. Chronicles record how house fronts and enclosures were whitewashed, the streets were cleaned, and gardens were planted around the temples. The city's young people "are dressed for festivities every day, their heads anointed with sweet oil, their hair finely braided," to make a good impression on the new queen. However, two centuries later the branch of the Nile that ran through the city silted up, and Pi-Ramses had to be abandoned. But Ramses II's once splendid capital did not disappear altogether. Most of the stone was reused to build the nearby city of Tanis, which would serve as the capital of Egypt's 21st and 22nd dynasties.

"There are fish in the lakes, birds in the ponds, its granaries are full of oats and barley. Happiness abides there. The [illegible] there"

AVARIS, THE RECYCLED CITY

In the 17th century B.C. the Hyksos, Asian migrants who occupied Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period, made their capital Avaris, at modern-day Tell el Daba, on the Nile Delta. Ramses' family came from that region, and when he became Pharaoh he incorporated Avaris into his new capital. Buried for many years under cultivated land, excavations began at the site in the 1960s.



FOR A GREAT PHARAOH

1 QUAYS
The center of a huge commercial empire, the city had extensive quays, where the ships that supplied the city docked. One document of the period notes: "Ships come and go so often that food and provisions arrive every day."

2 ROYAL PALACE
A large area was cleared near this large complex for Ramses' first jubilee. The palace was decorated with beautiful ceramic mosaics and even housed a zoo in which lion, elephant, and giraffe bones have been found.

3 TEMPLE OF AMUN
Reflecting the importance of Egypt's national deity, this was one of the city's main temples, along with those of Astarte, and Nephthys, a local goddess. A pylon and four large statues of the pharaoh once towered over it.

4 BARRACKS AND STABLES
Located to the east, Hittite equipment has been found at the barracks, suggesting military cooperation between the

5 SUBURBS
These spread along the banks of the eastern branch of the Nile. Merchants,

6 TEMPLE OF SETH
Ramses' father, Seti I, was named for the god of war and storms. A large

RE-CREATION OF PI-RAMSES BY JEAN-CLAUDE GOLVIN THE PICTURE RE-CREATES THE CITY DURING A FLOOD OF THE NILE RIVER

GIANT SLAYER

Holding his sling aloft, the victorious shepherd David stands above the body of the defeated Philistine giant, Goliath, in Jules-Élie Delaunay's 1874 painting, "David Triumphant." Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nantes, France

GERARD BLOT/RMN GRAND PALAIS

Rise of a Nation

THE SHEPHERD WHO WOULD BE KING

David's triumph over Goliath marks a turning point in the biblical conflict between the Philistines and the 12 tribes of Israel—one that would unite a nation.

In Canaan, a stretch of land from Syria in the north to Egypt in the south, it is a time of conflict. As described in the first Book of Samuel in the Bible, the Philistines are a constant threat to the 12 tribes of Israel. Their ultimate weapon, an armor-clad, javelin-wielding giant named Goliath, demands the Israelites send a champion to face him in single combat. At first, no one accepts the challenge, and then David, a shepherd, steps forward. Wearing no armor, David protects himself only with a simple sling and stones. The Bible describes how with one mighty blow to the head, David fells the giant with a single shot. The Philistines panic and flee. Seeing David prove his mettle with Goliath, the Israelites' leader, Saul, places David at the head of his military forces. David rises to power and ultimately becomes a powerful king, the one who will unite the tribes and usher in a golden age for Israel.

NEW CAPITAL FOR A NEW NATION

On succeeding Saul to the throne of Israel, David made Jerusalem the capital and home to the Ark of the Covenant. The Tower of David citadel was rebuilt by the city's Mamluk occupiers in the 14th century

THE LOST ARK
This mural (above) from the Dura-Europos synagogue in Syria, built in the third century A.D., depicts the Ark of the Covenant falling into the hands of the Philistines at the Battle of Ebenezer
BRIDGEMAN/AC

David's story has been handed down in synagogues and churches for centuries. The encounter with Goliath is believed to have happened where the Israelite forces faced a formidable enemy across the Elah Valley, some 16 miles south of Jerusalem. Modern historians and archaeologists question everything about this story, from David's very existence to whether a golden age of Israelite unity really existed. Even so, David's legacy remains as colossal as his most famous adversary.

Into the Promised Land

The second book of the Old Testament, Exodus, tells the story of how the Israelites were held captive as slaves in Egypt until Moses convinced Pharaoh to free them. Joshua, Moses' successor, then led the Israelites into Canaan, the land promised to them by God. The Israelites invade Canaan, subdue the people there, and claim the land as their own. Then the "promised land" was divided up among the 12 Israelite tribes. In the Bible, much of this action is described in the Books of Joshua and Judges.

There they lived and followed the laws that Moses had given to them in the name of their god, Yahweh. The tablets on which these laws were inscribed were kept inside the Ark of the Covenant, the most holy Israelite shrine. Exodus describes the ark as a wooden box, gilded inside and out with gold. It measured about three feet long and two feet wide and high. The Book of Joshua describes the ark as a source of great power and wisdom, which played an important role in Joshua's military conquest of Jericho.

Historians believe the period of the "conquest" of Canaan to have taken place around the 13th century B.C. Archaeologists have found no conclusive support for a massive military campaign by the Israelite forces, as described by the Bible. Rather, the evidence suggests a gradual settlement over a long period of time.

According to Jewish and Christian tradition, the roots of the clash between Israelites and Philistines dates back to this time. The tribe of Dan was assigned a small coastal territory, already occupied by the Philistines. Biblical tradition holds that Dan's territory included Ekron, which was a key Philistine city, whose inhabitants were unlikely to accept the Israelites' carving up the land of Canaan for themselves.

The Bible recounts the territorial skirmishes that flared between 1200 and 1020 B.C. This was the period of the judges, wise leaders who emerged among the Israelite tribes to lead them at moments of crisis. The Bible presents these conflicts as a continuous narrative, although many scholars now believe they were isolated events carefully selected by the later biblical editors to demonstrate how Yahweh would protect his people, provided they followed his laws and did not fall into idolatry.

CANAAN CULTURE CLASH

1200-1020 B.C.
After the conquest of Canaan, the 12 tribes settle in different parts of Israel and are led by judges.

circa 1175 B.C.
After Egypt repels the Sea Peoples, the Philistines retreat to and settle along the coastal areas of Canaan

1020-1000 B.C.
As chronicled in the biblical Books of Samuel, Saul becomes king, and David battles with the mighty Goliath.

600s-500s B.C.
The Books of Judges and Samuel are compiled, documenting the Philistine conflict.

PHILISTINE WARRIOR RELIEF FROM THE TEMPLE OF RAMSES III AT MEDINET HABU, CIRCA 1166 B.C.
ERICH LESSING/ALBUM

The 12 Tribes of Israel

THE BOOK OF GENESIS tells of the patriarch Abraham, his son Isaac, and Isaac's son Jacob. The 12 tribes of Israel are their descendants. Reuben, Simeon, Judah, Issachar, and Zebulun, sons of Jacob and his first wife, Leah, had tribes named after them. Jacob's second wife, Rachel, gave birth to Benjamin and Joseph. Benjamin had a tribe named for him, but Joseph did not. His sons, Manasseh and Ephraim, each had tribes bearing their names. The tribes of Gad and Asher were named for the sons of Jacob and Zilpah, Leah's servant. Jacob's sons with Bilhah, Rachel's servant, had the tribes of Dan and Naphtali named for them. Collectively these groups made up the people of Israel. After the Exodus from Egypt, Joshua led the newly freed Israelites to Canaan. He chose one man from each tribe to lead, which is how the lands came to be divided among the Israelites.

Present-day drainage, coastlines, and country boundaries are represented. Modern names appear in parentheses.

Between 1050 and 1020 B.C. tensions escalated further, the biblical history of which is found in the Books of Samuel. Most modern biblical scholars believe these books were written in the seventh to sixth centuries B.C., several centuries after the events took place. The books describe how the Israelite tribes had abandoned the system of judges to a single king, Saul. In this way they hoped to form a united front against a growing threat that no single tribe could vanquish: the Philistines, who boasted among their number the giant Goliath.

The Mystery of the Philistines

Few details are known about the Philistines. They were an established people living along the Mediterranean coast, an area that corresponds to today's Gaza Strip. Scholars know where they lived, but not much about from where they came.

Archaeology and text records turn up both clues and contradictions. According to the Book of Genesis, the Philistines were descended from Ham, son of Noah, considered to be the father of the peoples of Africa. Genesis recounts that one of Ham's sons, Mizraim, engenders various peoples, among them "the Caphtorim, from which the Philistines came" (Genesis 10:14). This seems to suggest an African origin for the Philistines. But confusingly, Caphtor, the island of the Caphtorim, has also been identified with Crete, an island in the Aegean Sea.

So, did the Philistines hail from Africa or from the Aegean? Egyptian sources reveal that around the 13th to 12th centuries B.C., Egypt was attacked by the so-called "Sea Peoples." Their forces are said to have swept down through the Aegean, making it as far as the Nile Delta before being repulsed by the forces of Ramses III. After the failed invasion, some of these peoples settled on the coast of Palestine. Some speculate that the *Peleset*, one of the Sea Peoples mentioned in the Egyptian texts, could be the Philistines of the biblical account.

Five princes led the Philistia system of government. Each one had his own capital: Gaza, Ashdod, Ashkelon, Gath, and Ekron. Their deities included Dagon, whose temple at Gaza was torn down by Samson in the famous biblical story in the Book of Judges. According to the Book of Judges, Philistine males were uncircumcised, not only differentiating them from the Israelites but also suggesting they were unrelated to many other peoples in the region who did practice circumcision—such as the Egyptians, the Moabites, and probably the Phoenicians.

"At that time the Philistines had dominion over all Israel," the Book of Judges says (Judges 14:4). The Philistines seem to have been skilled ironworkers, a key indicator of a people's technological superiority in this early stage of the Iron Age. Their ironworking skills gave them a distinct military advantage over other cultures—including the Israelites.

The First Book of Samuel records how, at this period: "There was no smith to be found throughout all the land of Israel; for the Philistines said, the Hebrews must not make swords or spears for themselves; so all the Israelites went down to the Philistines to sharpen their plowshares, mattocks, axes, or sickles" (I Samuel 13:19).

GOBLET DEPICTING MYCENAEAN SOLDIERS, 200-1100 B.C. NATIONAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM OF ATHENS

PRISMA/ALBUM

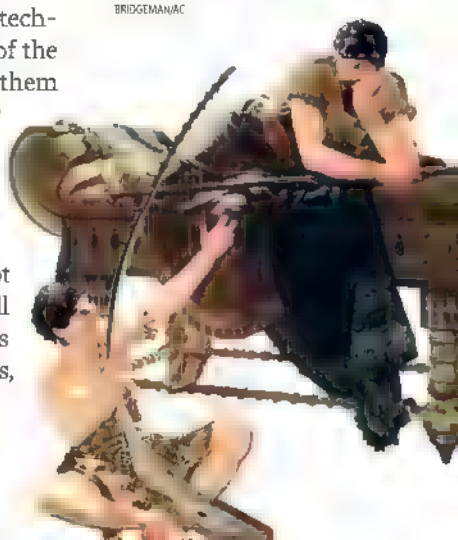
GREEK GIANT

GOLIATH HAD "a helmet of bronze on his head, and he was armed with a coat of mail . . . on his legs he wore bronze greaves" (I Samuel 17:5-6). Some historians suggest the authors, writing in the seventh to sixth centuries B.C., were thinking of depictions of Mycenaean armor from centuries before. Others believe they were describing the Greek hoplites who worked as mercenaries in Egypt, a familiar sight in Israel in the seventh century B.C.

SOOTHING KING SAUL

David's skill in calming King Saul's rages with his harp is celebrated in this 1885 oil painting by Julius Kronberg. National Museum, Stockholm

BRIDGEMAN/AC



JERUSALEM THE GOLDEN

The Dome of the Rock shrine, and the Western Wall (lower right). The wall is a remnant of the temple built by Herod the Great over the ruins of the Temple of Solomon, David's successor.

BENJAMIN SCHMID/FOTOLIA

The tribe of Dan capitulated to the Philistines, who were looking to conquer the neighboring tribes of Ephraim, Benjamin, and Judah. Then the Philistines begin pushing east toward the mountainous areas of central Palestine. Things started to go badly for the Israelites, especially after the Battle of Ebenezer, when the precious Ark of the Covenant fell into enemy hands.

An Epic Hero

The scramble by the 12 tribes of Israel to unite under King Saul was intended, the Bible says, to form a common front against their threatening neighbors. Scholars believe that the authors of the Books of Samuel, writing centuries later, intended to establish the kingly credentials of David, the man who later challenged Saul's power. What better way to do so than to depict David's heroic confrontation with a giant?

A one-on-one fight to the death between champions was a common, pragmatic way of deciding a battle in the ancient world. The arrangement avoided mass casualties on both sides. Curiously, the David and Goliath episode has more than a hint of Greek culture to it. The challenge thrown down by Goliath, and taken up by David, is not unlike that of Achilles and Hector in the great Homeric poem of the eighth century B.C., *The Iliad*.

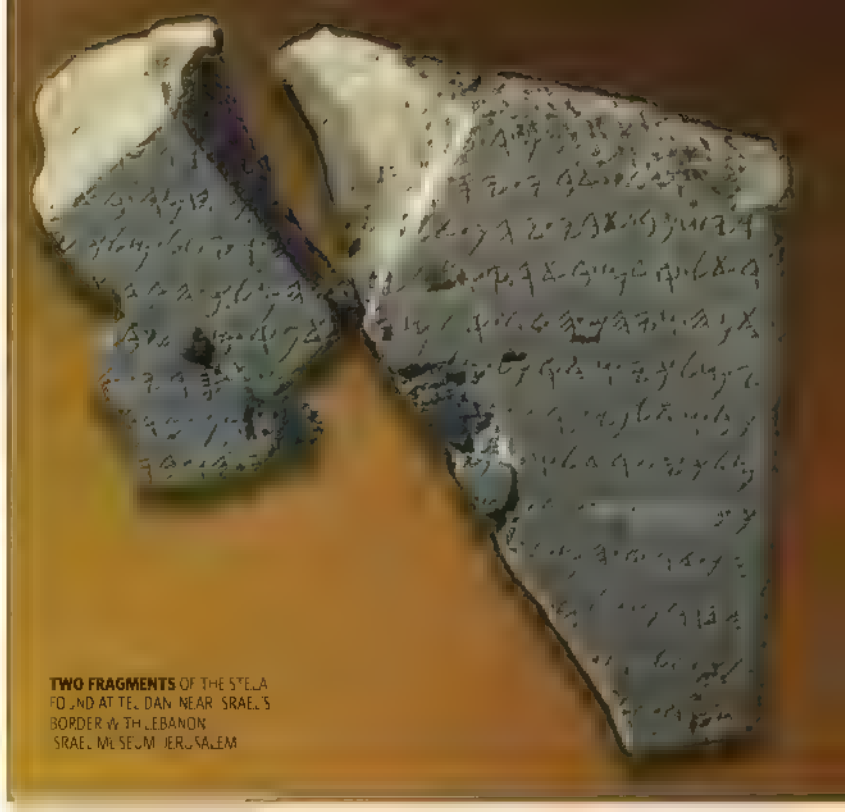
David is a hero of humble origins, a shepherd from Bethlehem. Unlike other great biblical figures chosen by God—Abraham, Joshua, or Moses—David is given a physical description: "He was ruddy, and had beautiful eyes, and was handsome" (I Samuel 16:12), a detail strikingly reminiscent of the Homeric model of a hero. David's intimate friendship with Jonathan, son of King Saul, and of his grief when his companion dies, also resonates with the close relationship between Achilles and Patroclus in *The Iliad*.

His heroic stand against the giant sets in motion the Second Book of Samuel's principal drama: David's struggle for power with Saul. Although David had saved the Israelites' honor at Elah, the king made his young, dangerous rival live as a fugitive. David even lived among the Philistines as a mercenary, one of the twists and turns on his path toward the throne of Israel. When David finally became king over Judah, and then over the northern tribes of Israel, he chose as his capital a hilltop fortress called Jerusalem.

By the time Philistine power had waned in the sixth century B.C., the threat it posed had already helped forge a nation, whose Scriptures are an abiding legacy for modern civilization. David's successor, Solomon, extended Israelite territory further, and is credited by the Bible as the builder of Jerusalem's first temple.

Some historians question whether David's kingdom was as united as the Bible claims. Few, however, deny his symbolic power. By turns courageous and weak, the flawed figure of ancient Israel's greatest king provided the Hebrews with a narrative about their relationship with God, and their role in history. For Christians, the shepherd from Bethlehem is the ancestor of Jesus, his epic battle against the giant an enduring symbol of the struggle against death. ■

JAVIER ALONSO LÓPEZ
A BIBLE SCHOLAR AND SEMITIC PHILOLOGIST, ALONSO IS THE AUTHOR OF MANY BOOKS ON ANCIENT ISRAEL, INCLUDING STUDIES OF HEROD THE GREAT AND SOLOMON.



TWO FRAGMENTS OF THE STELA FOUND AT TEL DAN NEAR ISRAEL'S BORDER WITH LEBANON. ISRAEL MUSEUM, JERUSALEM

BRIDGEMAN/AKG

CARVED IN STONE

RECENT SCHOLARSHIP has tended to the view that David may have been legendary, but finds at the settlement of Tel Dan in the north of modern-day Israel may have changed some minds. In the course of the 1993-94 dig, a basalt stela was unearthed that could offer proof of David's existence. Dating to the 11th century B.C., the stela's Aramaic inscription reads *"byt dwd,"* which can be translated as "the House of David."

THE SHEPHERD AND THE GIANT:

DAVID'S STORY:
From Ancient Israel to the High Renaissance

The spectacular rise of the humble shepherd to military, and later political, power inspired the 15th-century Italian artist Pesellino to paint two panels depicting key moments in David's life. In the first of these, "The Story of David and Goliath," shown above, the figure of David appears at different moments in the narrative, which unfolds in a general movement from back left to front right. Hung today at the National Gallery in London, the two works were painted around 1450, possibly as wooden panels that were set into the sides of two *cassoni*—Italian marriage chests. Some scholars believe that Pesellino was commissioned to paint the panels by a member of Florence's powerful Medici family. Whoever paid for them, the blend of religious storytelling, military, and political triumph would have held pride of place in any Renaissance palace.

1 *Watching Over the Flocks*

David, blond and handsome, is looking after flocks belonging to his father Jesse (or Isai). He is charged with taking food to his brothers, enlisted in the Israelite army encamped opposite Goliath and the Philistines.

2 *Accepting the Challenge*

David explains to King Saul that he is not afraid to fight the giant Goliath. As a shepherd he is used to rescuing lambs from a lion or a bear: "I would catch it by the jaw, strike it down, and kill it" (I Samuel 17:35).

3 *Rejecting Saul's Armor*

"Saul clothed David with his armor; he put a bronze helmet on his head and clothed him with a coat of mail. David strapped Saul's sword over the armor, and tried in vain to walk… So David removed them" (I Samuel 17:38–39).

4 *Choosing His Weapons*

David selects five smooth stones from a brook. Sling in his hand, he draws near to the huge figure of the Philistine. Goliath warns the boy: "I will give your flesh to the birds of the air and to the wild animals of the field" (I Samuel 17:44).

THE PICTURE TELLS THE STORY

SCALA, FLORENCE

5 *Taking Aim at the Enemy*

Goliath steps forward and David runs to face him. David puts his hand in his bag, takes out a stone, loads it in the sling, and strikes the Philistine; the stone sinks into his forehead, and he falls face down on the ground.

=

6 *Delivering the Final Blow*

Goliath is not dead yet, and David must move in for the kill. "Then David ran and stood over the Philistine, he grasped his sword, drew it out of its sheath, and killed him, then he cut off his head with it" (I Samuel 17:51)

7 *Standing Tall and Sure*

Goliath is said to have stood over 10 feet high. He appears here standing tall above the crowd and wearing his armor but, unlike in the biblical account, which depicts him carrying a shield and javelin, here he holds a wooden club.

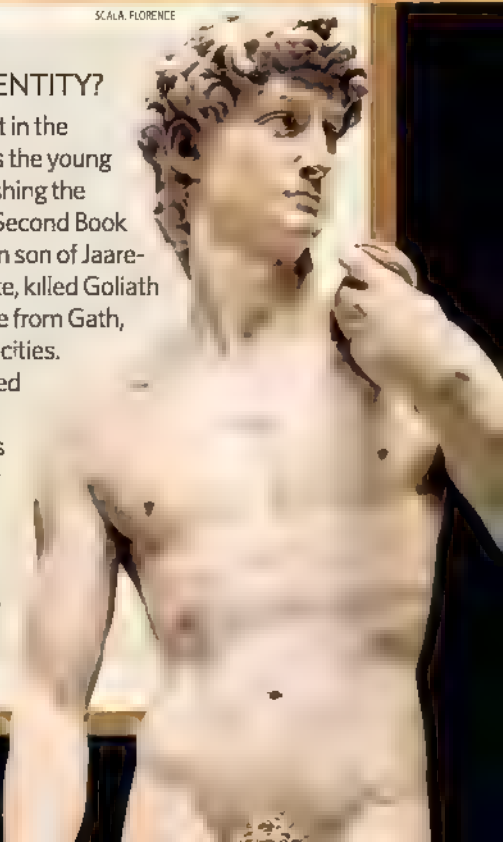
=

8 *Chasing the Defeated*

"When the Philistines saw that their champion was dead, they fled. The troops of Israel and Judah rose up with a shout and pursued the Philistines as far as Gath and the gates of Ekron" (I Samuel 17:51–52)

A HERO'S TRUE IDENTITY?

The best known account in the First Book of Samuel has the young shepherd David vanquishing the Philistine giant. But the Second Book of Samuel says: "Elhanan son of Jaare-oregim, the Bethlehemite, killed Goliath the Gittite." Gittites were from Gath, one of the five Philistine cities. The anomaly is smoothed out in the First Book of Chronicles, which states that "Elhanan son of Jair killed Lahmi the brother of Goliath the Gittite."



"DAVID," BY MICHELANGELO, 1501–04, GALLERIA DELL'ACCADEMIA, FLORENCE

ANTONIO QUATTRONE/AGE FOTOSTOCK

MAN VERSUS MAN

Wrestling, as shown in this [illegible] relief, was a popular event at the ancient Olympics. The games were held to the god Zeus, whose massive temple at Olympia stood from [illegible] until [illegible] when the Theodosius I ordered it burned. The shield decoration [illegible] shape of a gorgon (below) [illegible] found among [illegible]

GOING FOR GOLD

The modern Olympics were inspired by an ideal of classical amateurism. But in ancient Greece a blurry line existed between amateur and professional athletes, who both earned prizes, fame, and money from competition.

The most important thing in the Olympic Games is not winning but taking part." Like many celebrated quotes, the words themselves have become considerably more famous than the person who uttered them—in this case, a French aristocrat, Baron Pierre de Coubertin. By profession an educational theorist, Coubertin is better known today as the father of the modern Olympics.

Coubertin's passionate belief in the moral example of the ancient tournament eventually led to the first modern Summer Olympics, held in Athens, Greece, in 1896. A far cry from today's slick and heavily marketed events, the games were steeped in Coubertin's deep knowledge of, and passion for, classical culture, and his conviction that "the essential thing in life is not conquering but fighting well."

In the run up to the 1896 Athens games, heated debates in the International Olympic Committee centered on "professionalism" versus "amateurism" in sport. The committee finally decided that only "non-professional" athletes could compete in the Olympic Games, and that there would be no cash prizes. Led by Coubertin, it outlined its vision of an event that promoted peace, understanding, and friendship between peoples.

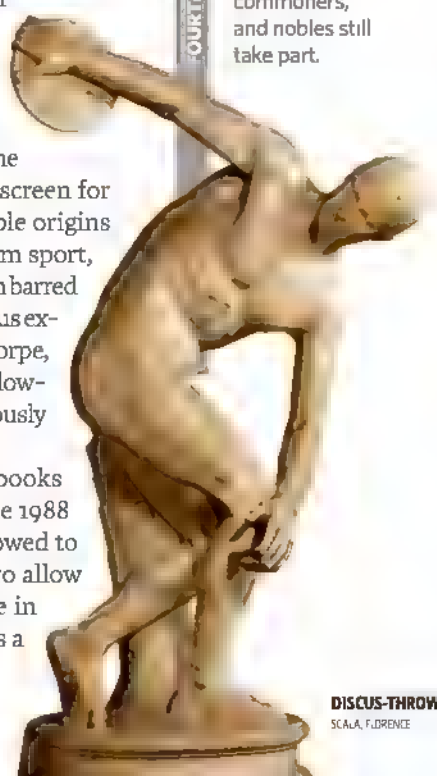
On the surface such notions seem praiseworthy. All too often the "amateur spirit," however, was a screen for class prejudice. Athletes of humble origins who had benefited financially from sport, found themselves penalized or even barred from the Olympics. The most famous example is American athlete Jim Thorpe, who was stripped of his medals following the 1912 games for having previously played semiprofessional baseball.

This bias stayed on the rule books for almost a century. Following the 1988 games the Olympic organizers bowed to mounting pressure, and agreed to allow professional athletes to compete in most categories. To some this was a regrettable departure from the "purity" of the games so lauded by Coubertin. But were the Olympic athletes of antiquity really the noble, disinterested amateurs that so many believed them to be?

THE FIRST Olympic Games in history. There is only one event: the sprint, which according to tradition was won by Coroebus of Elis, a cook.

FOLLOWING the Greek military victory over the Persians, the Olympic Games embody the newfound sense of national unity and Greek culture.

PROFESSIONALS dominate sport in Greece, but not all professional athletes are commoners, and nobles still take part.



DISCUS-THROWER, COPY OF MYRON'S BRONZE, 460 B.C. NATIONAL ROMAN MUSEUM, ROME
SCALA, FLORENCE

Gentlemen Athletes

The notion of the gentleman amateur gained in strength in the early part of the 20th century, in part inspired by the work of the British historian E. Norman Gardiner (1864–1930). Gardiner reconstructed the history of Greek sport as a process of rise and fall, beginning with the "spontaneous, aristocratic sport" of Homeric heroes and culminating in the "golden age" of Greek sport in 500–440 B.C.

Greek sport then fell into a long period of decadence, which Gardiner attributed to the introduction of professionalism. This had brought about an unhealthy increase in the honors and financial rewards athletes could win. The outcome was that professional athletes from the lower classes and less "civilized" parts of the Greek world gradually gained a physical advantage. Aristocrats had to stop taking part in sporting competitions or rather had to stick solely to equestrian events, entry into which required considerable financial investment. But it was not the rider or charioteer who was declared the victor but rather the owner of the chariot and horses.

Gardiner maintained that there were two emphatically different stages in the history of Greek sport: a pure initial period in which noblemen clashed solely to prove their worth on the one hand, and a decadent, corrupt period in which members of the lower classes competed for money and privileges, on the other.

Recent research, based largely on studies by the Dutch historian Henri W. Pleket, has challenged this view. Ancient Greek sport, researchers have found, did involve large sums of money and was, in fact, unashamedly bound up with social and political influences from a surprisingly early stage.

Prizes and Glory

There were two types of competition. First, the type known as the "garland games." The most important of these were the four tournaments that made up the Panhellenic Games, open to all the city-states in the Greek world: the Olympic Games held at Olympia; the Pythian Games at Delphi; the Isthmian Games at Corinth; and the Nemean Games at Nemea. At all of these tournaments, the winners received no more than a garland symbolizing their triumph.

So far, so "amateur." But not so much the second category of games. These were the competitions at which the winners received material prizes, often of considerable value. Notable examples include the prize awarded at the most important of these tournaments, the Panathenaic Games in Athens. In the middle of the fourth century B.C. the winner of the ancient running race, the *stadion*, was given a prize of 100 amphorae of olive oil. That was worth at least what a skilled worker could earn in four years—and the stadion event didn't even have the biggest purse at those games.

In the second century B.C., in a city in Asia Minor, an Olympic winner was given 30,000 drachmas simply for taking part in local games. This was at a time when a Roman soldier was paid no more than 300 drachmas per year.

So far, these examples appear to coincide with Gardiner's notion that, from the fourth century B.C. onward, the classical games became tainted by greed. The reality, however, was almost certainly much more complex. Even among professionals of the era, the will to win rather than to earn money was almost certainly the athletes' main motive—a similar situation recognizable at the modern Olympic Games.

Another aspect of the classical games that can be clearly detected in the modern Olympics is the tendency for countries to express appreciation for athletes who have brought honor to their flag. This is, and was, usually expressed financially. Today a sports personality's earning power increases considerably after an outstanding performance in a major competition on the domestic and international stages.

Likewise, in ancient Greece, a triumph at any of the great games brought the victor many benefits.

The Original Olympic Itinerary

The Olympic Games were held every four years at Olympia in southern Greece, at the sanctuary dedicated to Zeus. Like most modern Summer Olympics, the games began in late July. One month before the competition, the athletes gathered at Elis, about 36 miles from Olympia. The event attracted thousands of spectators, protected by a sacred truce to guarantee their safety. In the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., the games lasted five days. On the first day, non-sporting activities such as contests for heralds and trumpeters took place. The winners of these events would then direct the following days' events. On the second day, the morning's events were horse and chariot races—*bigae*, pulled by two horses, or *quadrigae*, pulled by four. The afternoon was for the pentathlon, which included the discus throw, long jump, javelin throw, a race, and wrestling. The third day was given over to religious celebrations in honor of Pelops, the mythical founder of the games, and Zeus. Athletic events returned on the fourth day with foot races, and an aggressive event known as the *pankration*, a cross between wrestling and boxing. It is not known for certain whether the prizes were given on the fourth and fifth days, or after each event concluded. The games probably ended with an official banquet in honor of the winners.

1 **Olympic stadium**
Total length: 700 feet
Track length: 630 feet

2 **Temple of Hera**
Built in the Doric style around 600 B.C.

3 **Temple of Zeus**
Completed in 456 B.C. in the Doric style

4 **Bouleuterion**
The Senate of Elis, the games organizers

5 **Baths**
Third century A.D with heating and mosaics.

6 **Leonidaion**
For housing nobility, built around 330 B.C.

The city of Croton may have signed *star athletes* from other cities, passing them off as their own to keep *winning.*

A long list of honors and rewards awaited the victorious athlete at home, reflecting the importance the community gave to citizens who represented them on the sporting field. More significantly still, many such cases fall squarely into the earlier period of Greek history portrayed by Gardiner as the so-called Golden Age.

There is a notorious case, for example, of Croton, a city in the south of Italy, whose runners dominated sprinting for more than a century. Between 588 and 480 B.C., the Crotons won 13 out of 28 stadion races. What was behind this dynasty of sporting prowess, which came suddenly to an end around 478 B.C.? Some experts argue that Croton's success could be explained as the result of the training methods developed at its outstanding athletics school. Others suggest, however, that Croton attempted to boost its reputation among the Greeks by signing athletes from other cities and then passing them off as Crotons. Once the money to sustain this propaganda initiative ran out, so too did Croton's victories.

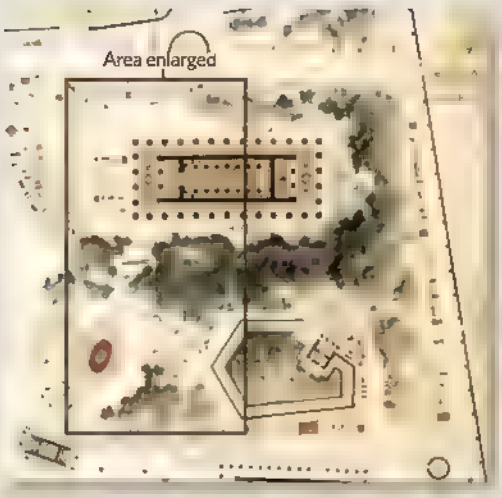
Homecoming Heroes

In antiquity, as today, victorious competitors were given rapturous celebrations upon returning to their home city or country. The welcome Exenetus of Akragas received after winning the sprint at the Olympic Games in 412 B.C. was later recorded by the Greek historian Diodorus Siculus. His account is more than reminiscent of the parades through a city's crowd-lined streets undertaken by modern sports teams:

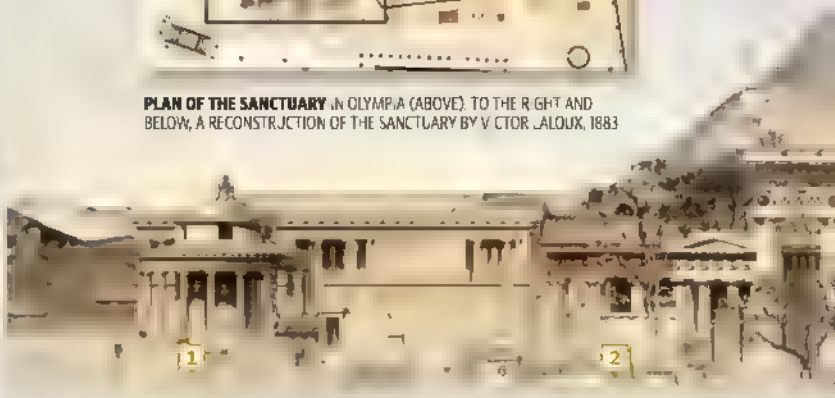
> After he achieved his triumph, they led Exenetus of Akragas [from the port] to the city atop a chariot, escorted by, among other things, 300 chariots pulled by white horses, all of which belonged to the citizens themselves.

The financial rewards given by cities to the winners of the great games could be colossal. In Athens in the first half of the sixth century B.C., Solon's laws awarded 500 drachmas to Athenian athletes who were victorious at Olympia, and gave

OLYMPIA,



PLAN OF THE SANCTUARY IN OLYMPIA (ABOVE). TO THE RIGHT AND BELOW, A RECONSTRUCTION OF THE SANCTUARY BY VICTOR LALOUX, 1883



Fit for the King of the Gods

Accounts describe the richly sculpted facades of Olympia's Temple of Zeus as made of flawless marble. The eastern facade depicted Zeus in the center, flanked by his grandson Pelops and King Oenomaus of Elis, both about to begin the chariot race that Pelops will win. The western facade showed the conflict between Lapiths and centaurs. Panels on both sides depicted the labors of Hercules. Inside, the sanctuary was dominated by the 43-foot-tall, gold-and-marble statue of Zeus by the fifth-century B.C. Athenian sculptor Phidias, whose colossal gold-and-ivory statue of Athena was housed in the Parthenon

Eastern facade to the temple, its six Doric columns crowned by an elaborate frieze

SACRED TO ZEUS

Greece's most important sanctuary dedicated to Zeus, the father of the gods, was in Olympia. From 776 B.C. the Olympic Games took place there every four years. According to tradition, the mythical hero Pelops created the games in the god's honor. In addition to the magnificent Temple of Zeus, the precinct contained altars, administrative buildings, sanctuaries, and sporting facilities.

1 PHILIPPEION

This circular temple was built by Philip II of Macedon, father of Alexander the Great, to commemorate his victory at the Battle of Chaeronea in 338 B.C.

2 PELOPION

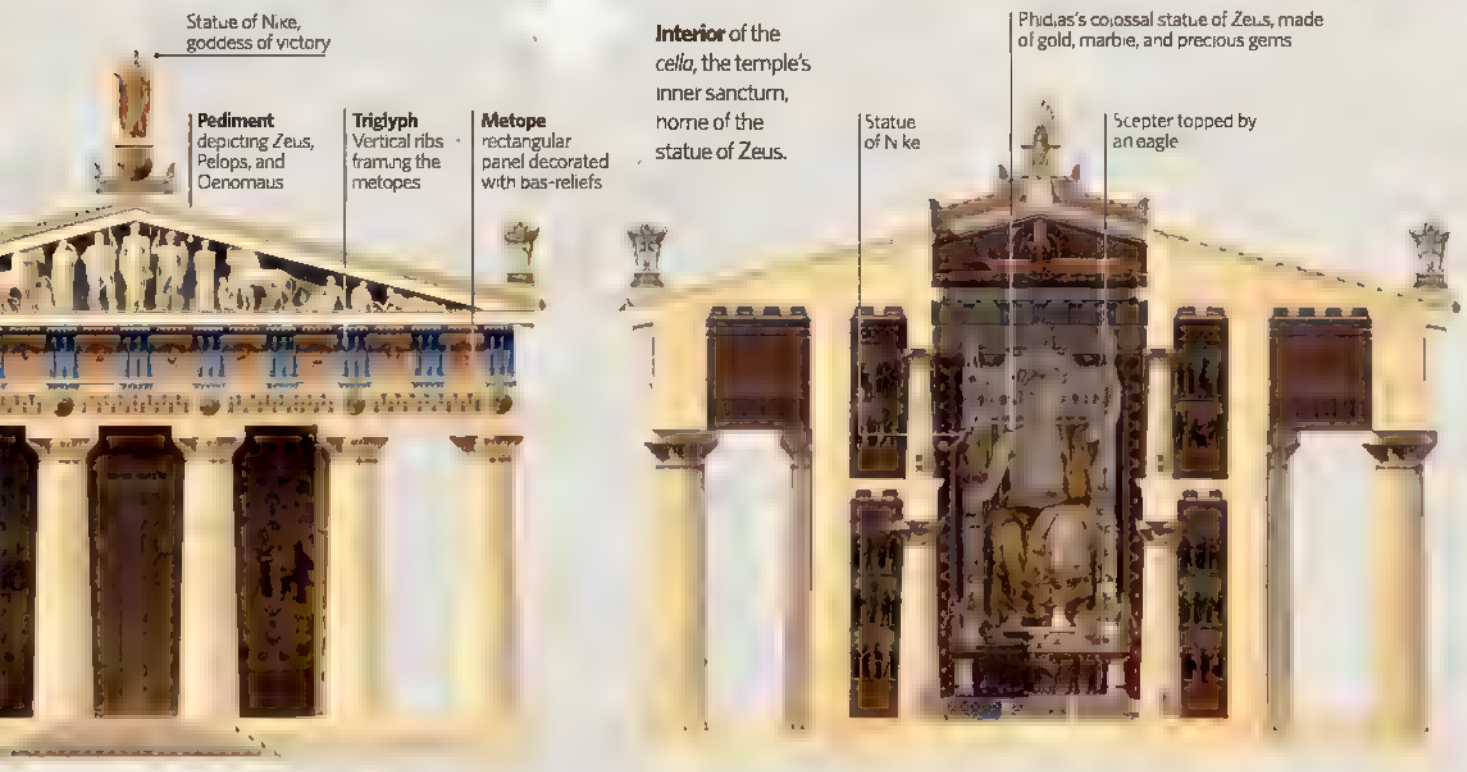
The olive branches above this structure, Pelops's alleged resting place, were woven into victory wreaths. The Peloponnese Peninsula's name is derived from Pelops.

3 TEMPLE OF ZEUS

Built between 470 and 456 B.C., this temple was the work of the architect Libon of Elis and contained Phidias's statue of Zeus, one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World.

4 BOULEUTERION

This building, built in the sixth century B.C., was where the athletes swore to uphold the rules of the Olympics. The organizers of the games, the Senate of Elis, operated here.


Statue of Nike, goddess of victory
Pediment depicting Zeus, Pelops, and Oenomaus
Triglyph Vertical ribs framing the metopes
Metope rectangular panel decorated with bas-reliefs
Interior of the *cella*, the temple's inner sanctum, home of the statue of Zeus.
Phidias's colossal statue of Zeus, made of gold, marble, and precious gems
Statue of Nike
Scepter topped by an eagle

ÉCOLE NATIONALE SUPÉRIEURE DES BEAUX-ARTS, PARIS/RMN-GRAND PALAIS

HAIL TO THE VICTOR

Reflecting the 19th-century fascination with the Olympics, Giuseppe Sciuti's 1872 painting depicts the fifth-century B.C Greek poet Pindar. Famous for his odes glorifying athletes, he praises a champion, who stands in a red robe, crowned with the Olympic olive wreath. Brera Art Gallery, Milan

SERGIO ANELLI/ALBUM

100 drachmas to those who triumphed at the Isthmian Games. These were considerable sums. Two centuries later, during the time of the philosopher Plato, a skilled workman's daily wage was one and a half drachmas.

The public coffers might pay for a statue of the athlete to be built. The winner enjoyed other benefits, such as public jobs and, in particular, certain privileges reserved for an extremely small number of people who were considered VIPs of the community: a lifelong stipend paid by the city, the right to a seat of honor at public events, and even exemption from taxes.

The distinction between professional and amateur athletes becomes rather blurred in the classical Greek world. In fact, the first professional athletes in the history of European, and perhaps world, sport came not from the lower social orders but from the aristocracy. Such cases can be cited from as early as the sixth century B.C., if a professional athlete is defined as someone who works "full time" on training and competing, and receives rewards in the form of cash or honors, even if he does not depend on them to make a living.

Pleket stressed that competing for money or honors—and even taking advantage of victories for political ends—was not frowned on in ancient Greece. There was no social stigma attached to it, as there was for the 19th-century proponents of "amateur sport." Much the same attitude can also be seen in *The Iliad*, Homer's epic poem of the eighth century B.C., in which aristocratic warriors compete for costly prizes awarded by the hero, Achilles.

Access to All?

One of the most fiercely debated issues among historians in recent decades is when, and to what extent, did the middle and lower classes begin to systematically take part in sport and compete in the games. The traditional idea, set out in Gardiner's work, is that the growing professionalization of sport began later in the fifth century B.C. and conclusively from the fourth century. As sportsmen from the lower classes became increasingly involved in athletic games, the nobles started to withdraw.

Pleket's studies reveal that lower-class athletes did indeed start to practice the once exclusively aristocratic activity of sport—but this process happened much earlier than Gardiner's original theory suggests. At the beginning of the sixth century B.C., only the aristocracy had the necessary free time and access to facilities for practice. Later in that same century, however, in line with the social and political changes transforming Greek city-states, public gymnasiums were built, increasing access to training. These encouraged the gradual inclusion of other social classes in sport. Apart from the physical, intellectual, and moral benefits these facilities provided, they were also considered to be useful in preparing the populace for military service.

From this time onward citizens from the lower social classes were able to take part in sporting events. At first this was limited to local games. The great Panhellenic Games remained the almost exclusive domain of the ancient nobility and the wealthy merchant class due to the high costs associated with travel and housing accommodations at the places where the games were held. At Olympia, for example, athletes were required to arrive a full month before the games began.

Pleket also cites inscriptions and literary documents that confirm beyond doubt that members of the aristocracy and the merchant class, far from retreating from the stadia, continued to compete in local and Panhellenic Games from the fourth century B.C. In other words, aristocratic athletes, and those from the wealthy

UNTIL THE BEGINNING OF THE sixth century B.C., sport was the almost exclusive realm of the aristocracy, who had the necessary free time and facilities.

AT THE ATHENS GAMES, an athlete could win a prize of 100 amphorae of olive oil. That was the equivalent of four years' pay for a skilled worker.

POOR ATHLETES could use their winnings from local games to finance their participation in increasingly bigger—and more lucrative—competitions.

VICTORY CROWNS AN ATHLETE. FIFTH-CENTURY B.C. KRATER. KANELLOPOULOS MUSEUM, ATHENS

DAGLI ORTI/ART ARCHIVE

merchant class, were themselves taking part in the growing trend toward professionalization. Aristocratic sportsmen competed not only in the more expensive equestrian events but also in the pentathlon, wrestling, boxing, and pankration, though evidently in smaller numbers than in previous eras.

Cooks and Shepherds

The American Olympic historian David C. Young goes even further than Pleket. In his books, Young argues that very early in the history of the games, numerous non-noble athletes were competing at Olympia, and taking full advantage of the financial and social benefits that came with victory. Young's research found a string of sources from the eighth to sixth centuries B.C. that speak of athletes who were not from the aristocracy.

It was even said that the first known Olympic winner, at the first games in 776 B.C., was a cook named Coroebus of Elis. Amesinas of Barce in Libya, who was the Olympic wrestling champion in 460 B.C., was a shepherd. At the end of the sixth century B.C. Simonides, a poet, celebrated the sporting successes of an anonymous athlete, and has him say that, before he became a sportsman, he "carried fish from Argos to Tegea."

The jury is out, however, on the origins of Glaucus of Carystus, the Olympic winner of boxing in 520 B.C., and also twice a winner at Delphi, eight times at the Isthmian Games, and other victories at Nemea. Some sources portray him as a crude peasant, whereas others describe him as a noble landowner who was no less brawny. Either type, it seems, could feasibly be a sporting champion.

So supposing members of lower social classes did play an active part in sporting competitions—how could they have afforded the vast

All in the Family: The Diagoras Dynasty

Diagoras of Rhodes was a boxer who won a lot of fights. He achieved his greatest triumph at the Olympic Games of 464 B.C., and is still so respected that today the airport and soccer team on Rhodes are named for him. At the games in 448 B.C., his sons became Olympic champions on the same day: Akousilaos in boxing, and, for the second time, Damagetos in *pankration* (a mixture of boxing and wrestling). The two of them walked a lap of honor around the stadium, carrying their father on their shoulders, while the ecstatic crowd cheered and strewed the three men with flowers. When they put him back on his feet, a Spartan came up to congratulate him and said, "Diagoras, you had better die now because you will never be happier." According to the Roman writer Aulus Gellius, Diagoras did just that: He died there and then. Another of Diagoras's sons, Dorieus, won three Olympic victories in pankration (432, 428, and 424 B.C.), and, in 404 B.C., his grandsons were also Olympic champions: Eucles (boxing) and Peisirodes (boxing for boys). Statues of the talented members of this family could be seen together in the sanctuary at Olympia. Although women were strictly forbidden to attend the games, Kallipateira, Diagoras's daughter, was able to sneak into Olympia disguised as a trainer to watch her young son, Peisirodes, compete. When he won, a jubilant Kallipateira leapt the barrier around the trainers' area but her clothes got caught, revealing her female form. She faced the death penalty for this intrusion—but she was pardoned. After all, no other woman had been the daughter, sister, and mother of Olympic champions.

SEATED BOXER, THIRD TO FIRST CENTURY B.C., NATIONAL ROMAN MUSEUM, ROME
BRIDGEMAN/ACI

In ancient Greece, the availability of *sport* to the less wealthy was greater than the founders of the *modern Olympics* assumed.

expense of traveling to them? Young persuasively argues that they could have financed their sporting "careers" with the prizes they won at lesser, local games.

A young athlete from a humble family who won a regional competition could use his prize money to enter more important and more financially rewarding games. If he was victorious there too, he would be able to pay for a trainer and so embark upon a sporting career that might even allow him to take part in the great games.

That it was difficult for poorer, non-noble athletes to take part in the great games is evidently true. But it was not impossible. It was within the grasp of young men from poor families of outstanding sporting ability. It has even been suggested that talented but poor athletes may have had patrons—the classical world's answer to sponsors—in the form of cities or individuals, although there is no evidence of this prior to the fourth century B.C.

Young argues that cases such as these were frequent before 450 B.C. Other historians disagree, pointing out that cases of non-noble athletes were rather exceptional: Aristotle expressly states that the Olympic victory by the fishmonger, lauded by Simonides, was an unusual event. As for Coroebus the cook's triumph, he was a young man from a neighboring city who did not have to pay travel and accommodation expenses.

Even so, a degree of "democratization" of sport in ancient Greece did take place. The availability of sport to the less wealthy, and, in particular, their participation in the Panhellenic Games from the eighth to the fifth centuries B.C., is greater than has been previously thought. This participation was more extensive than what was argued by the 19th-century defenders of aristocratic "amateurism." The modern Olympic movement can take heart that, far from betraying the ancient Olympics, modern professionalism is a continuation of its legacy.

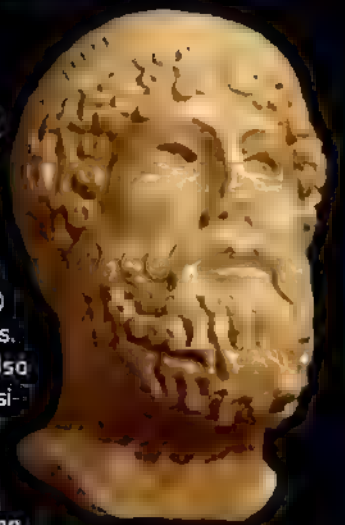
FERNANDO GARCÍA ROMERO
AN EXPERT IN SPORT AND ATHLETICS IN ANTIQUITY, GARCIA TEACHES AT THE COMPLUTENSE UNIVERSITY OF MADRID, SPAIN.

ANCIENT SPORTS ILLUSTRATED

The life of an ancient Greek athlete encompassed many different experiences, from start to finish. Victorious athletes, who brought great pride to their home cities, were often lavished with gifts and showered with praise.

1 Taking the Olympic Oath

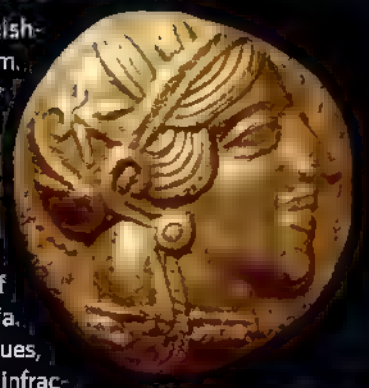
At the end of the opening day, the athletes gathered in the Bouleuterion in Olympia, the building where the *nomophylakes* (guardians of the rules) met, to vow the play by the rules. Their fathers and trainers also swore an oath, accepting responsibility for their sons' and pupils' actions. The second-century-B.C. writer Pausanias described the oaths as being taken before a statue of Zeus Horkios and the remains of a sacrificial boar.



HEAD OF A STATUE OF ZEUS. COPY OF A BRONZE GREEK ORIGINAL

2 Breaking the Rules, Paying the Price

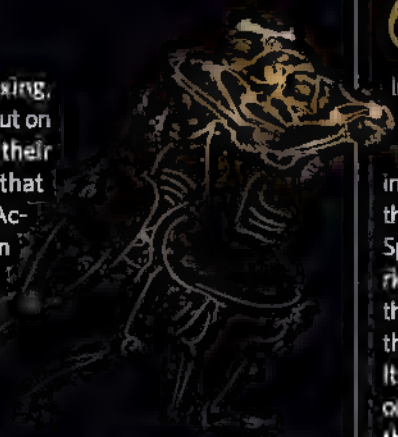
The rules ordered severe punishments for those who broke them. Athletes could be scourged for false starts or harassing other competitors. They were also punished for attempting to bribe the judges or their rivals, or for arriving late. The fines were used to put up statues of Zeus, called Zanes, at Olympia. There were at least 12 such statues, with inscriptions recording the infraction, and warning that high levels of sportsmanship were expected at the games.



COIN FROM 420 B.C., DEPICTING ATHENA, ZEUS'S DAUGHTER. NATIONAL MUSEUM, BADEN

3 Eating Right, Bulking Up

Athletes who competed at boxing, wrestling, and *pankration* were put on lavish diets of meat to build up their body mass, as it was thought that would give them an advantage. According to the writer Euripides in *Autolycus* (circa 420 B.C.), this made an athlete "a slave of his jaws and . . . weaker than his stomach." Many were deformed by overeating, as seen in the potbellied wrestlers painted on ceramic vases in the sixth century B.C.



WRESTLERS DEPICTED ON AN ATTIC VASE, 520 B.C. LOUVRE MUSEUM, PARIS

4 Winning Prizes, Crowning Glories

The prizes of the four Panhellenic Games—the Olympic Games, the Pythian (or Delphic) Games, the Isthmian Games, and the Nemean Games—were garlands of leaves made from the plant or tree of the god to whom the games were dedicated: olive in Olympia, laurel in Delphi, dried celery or pine in Corinth, and wild celery in Nemea. The *periodonkes*, those who won at all four of the games, were held in extremely high regard by the public.

ATHLETES MAKING AN OFFERING TO BENDIS, GODDESS OF HUNTING. FOURTH CENTURY B.C.

5 Not Exactly an (Ancient) Olympic Sport

Surprising though it may seem, the marathon is a recent invention and has no true connection with the ancient Olympic Games. The Greeks were not as interested in long-distance races, known as *dolikhos*, as they were in sprinting over shorter distances. Ball games, such as field hockey and football, also played no part in the Panhellenic Games, although they were considered important for personal development and were recommended by Galen, the eminent Greek doctor from the second century A.D.

A FIELD HOCKEY-STYLE SPORT DEPICTED ON A RELIEF. SIXTH CENTURY B.C. NATIONAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM, ATHENS

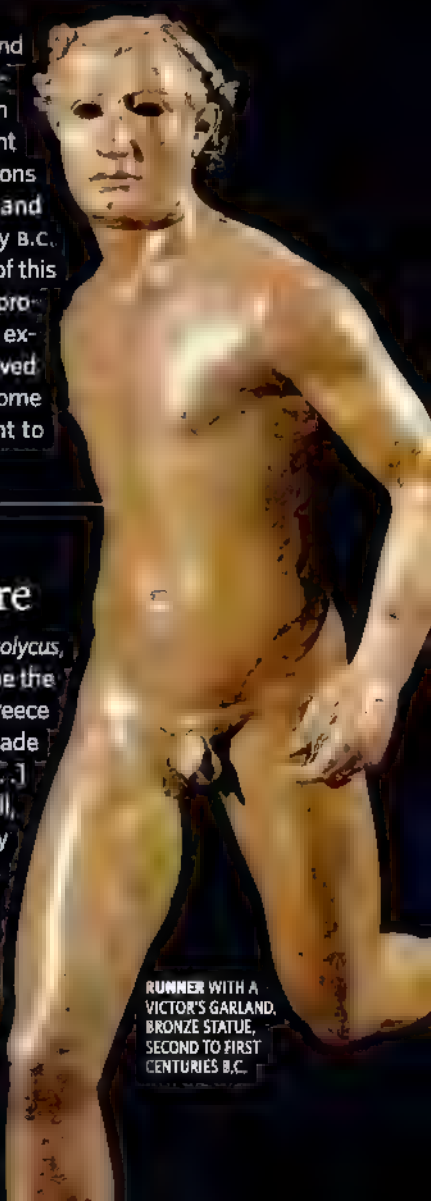
6 Rising and Falling

In the classical world certain regions stood out for the number of victories won by their athletes in the games. From 776 B.C. to the end of the seventh century, Sparta, with its formidable warrior culture, dominated. Later in the sixth century, athletes from the Greek colonies in Sicily and Italy rose to the top. In the second century B.C. Rhodes produced the most sporting champions in the Aegean. As today, national sporting fortunes rose and fell over time.

SHIELD OF A SPARTAN HOPLITE SOLDIER. MUSEUM OF PESARO

7 Becoming a Big Deal

After the winners were crowned and losers left empty-handed, the spectators saw sporting success as a sign of divine favor, which in turn brought fame to the athlete. Champions were celebrated in poems and statues. By the fifth century B.C. there were so many statues of this kind in Olympia that the area provided for offerings had to be expanded, and the stadium moved to the west. The statues of some athletes were even thought to have healing powers.



RUNNER WITH A VICTOR'S GARLAND. BRONZE STATUE, SECOND TO FIRST CENTURIES B.C.

8 Critics of Celebrity Culture

Not everyone was impressed. In *Autolycus*, Euripides wrote: "And much I blame the present fashions / Which now in Greece prevail; where many a feast / Is made to pay great honor to such men [. . .] For though a man may wrestle well, / Or throw a discus, or strike a heavy blow, / Still where's the good his country can expect / From all his victories and crowns and prizes? / Will they fight their country's enemies / With discus in hand? [. . .] Better to adorn good men and wise / With these victory wreaths."

1. AKG/ALBUM; 2. AKG/ALBUM; 3. E. LESSING/ALBUM; 4. E. LESSING/ALBUM; 5. AKG/ALBUM; 6. SCALA, FLORENCE; 7. E. LESSING/ALBUM

UNEXPECTED EMPEROR

A marble bust from the Louvre Museum, Paris, presents a dignified, imperial Claudius, a far cry from his reputation as lame stutterer among many Romans. An imperial eagle on a cameo brooch (right), from Vienna's Museum of Art History, commemorates Claudius's transformation into a god on his death.

BUST: PIERRE PHOLIBERT/RMN-GRAND PALAIS **BROOCH:** ERICH LESSING/ALBUM

HIDDEN IN PLAIN SIGHT

CLAUDIUS TAKES THE THRONE

Taunted for his disabilities, the scholarly Claudius lay low during the bloody reigns of his uncle and nephew. After a coup brought him out of the shadows and onto the imperial throne, he remained the object of mockery, up to and beyond his death.

The political situation in Rome could not have been more tense in January, A.D. 41. The unstable and murderous emperor, Caligula, having squandered the state coffers, was beginning to confiscate the property of leading Roman nobles. Caligula had grown so unpopular, a revolt seemed inevitable. He was so despised that, on that January day, a group of his own Praetorian Guard seized and assassinated him.

Claudius, Caligula's uncle, was discovered trembling with fright nearby. Ridiculed for his physical disability, Claudius had been ostracized by his powerful family from an early age. Assuming that a career in public office was beyond his grasp, he turned instead to an academic life writing history.

Having survived the purges of his deranged nephew, Claudius seemed ready to move quietly into scholarly old age. But then, in his early 50s, everything changed after Caligula's own guards killed him, and Claudius became the legitimate heir. He was thrust into the limelight and straight onto the imperial throne. In some ways, the sudden rise of Claudius is not entirely a surprise. As nephew of the emperor Tiberius, his claim to the imperial throne was solid. But Claudius limped, stuttered, and trembled as he spoke. To this day historians are not entirely sure what caused his physical disabilities—some suggest polio or multiple sclerosis—but given the attitudes of the day, his defects exposed Claudius to the ridicule and rejection of both his family and the public.

Many Romans, linking physical with mental ability, also believed Claudius to be stupid. This prejudice lingered despite his evident achievements as a scholar, a historian, and later, as a ruler who managed to survive numerous conspiracies, and crucially, to keep the army on his side throughout it all. In his 13 years as emperor, he made decisions that still resonate today, including extending Roman rule into Britain and North Africa.

The story of Claudius continues to fascinate historians because of its quirks and contradictions. The shy, unassuming man became an emperor who ruled with immense confidence. A scholar who had spent years hunched over books in secluded libraries began making shrewd decisions, perhaps informed by the lessons of history he absorbed in his studies.

French historian Pierre Grimal described him as a Janus figure, the two-faced Roman god able to look in opposite directions at once. It is this very ambiguity that has drawn people to write about him: from the ancient historian Suetonius to modern writers, such as novelist Robert Graves, author of *I, Claudius*.

MATRIARCH CLAUDIUS'S GRANDMOTHER, LIVIA DRUSILLA. NATIONAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM, MADRID
PRISMA/ALBUM

FROM THE LIBRARY TO THE THRONE

10 B.C.
Born Tiberius Claudius Drusus Nero Germanicus at a military encampment in Lyon, Claudius is the third child of Drusus, a general.

A.D. 7
Age 17, his family hire the historian Livy as Claudius's tutor, sparking a lifelong passion for knowledge and study.

SON OF GAUL

The Roman theater in the French city of [illegible] in Gaul. The emperor Claudius was born here in 10 B.C. to the Roman general Drusus.

A.D. 14
Emperor Augustus dies and is succeeded by Tiberius, Claudius's uncle. He denies Claudius access to any public position.

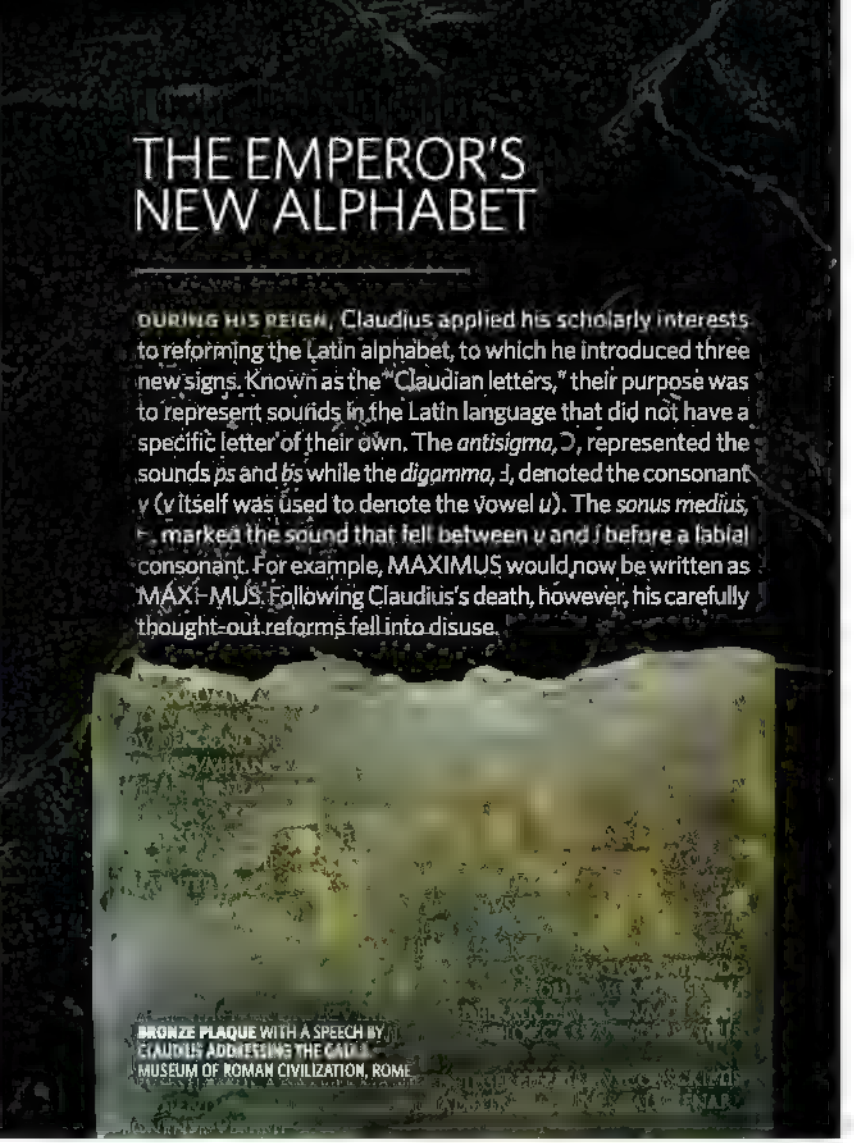
A.D. 37
Emperor Caligula, Claudius's mad nephew, names his uncle senator and co-consul, while continually undermining him.

A.D. 41
Caligula is murdered by members of the Praetorian Guard. Claudius expects to be killed too, but he is proclaimed emperor.

A.D. 54
After marrying his niece, Agrippina Minor, and adopting her son, Nero, Claudius dies, possibly having been poisoned.

THE EMPEROR'S NEW ALPHABET

DURING HIS REIGN, Claudius applied his scholarly interests to reforming the Latin alphabet, to which he introduced three new signs. Known as the "Claudian letters," their purpose was to represent sounds in the Latin language that did not have a specific letter of their own. The *antisigma*, Ↄ, represented the sounds *ps* and *bs* while the *digamma*, Ⅎ, denoted the consonant *v* (*v* itself was used to denote the vowel *u*). The *sonus medius*, ⊦, marked the sound that fell between *u* and *i* before a labial consonant. For example, MAXIMUS would now be written as MAX⊦MUS. Following Claudius's death, however, his carefully thought-out reforms fell into disuse.



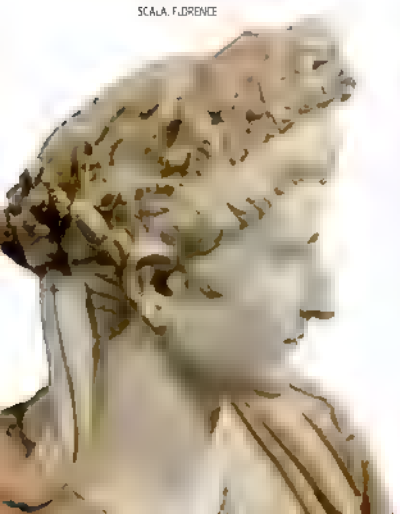
BRONZE PLAQUE WITH A SPEECH BY CLAUDIUS ADDRESSING THE GAULS. MUSEUM OF ROMAN CIVILIZATION, ROME

BRIDGEMAN/AC

THE LEAST FAVORITE

The emperor Tiberius had a low opinion of his nephew. In his will, he relegated Claudius in the line of succession. Bust of Tiberius, Vatican Museums, Rome

SCALA, FLORENCE



An Emperor Is Born

Tiberius Claudius Drusus Nero Germanicus was born in 10 B.C. in Gaul, in the city of Lugdunum, modern-day Lyon in France. His father was a renowned general, Nero Claudius Drusus. Claudius's siblings, Germanicus and Livilla, were born healthy, emphasizing the physical shortcomings of their brother. His own mother referred to him in Latin as *portentum*—a monster. His grandmother, the powerful matriarch Livia Drusilla, wife of Augustus, would not even speak to him, considering him beneath contempt.

Augustus seems to have been a little more compassionate, although he was careful not to show any acceptance of the child in public for fear of being ridiculed himself. Later, when Claudius's sister heard people discussing whether he might one day become emperor, she publicly declared her hope that nothing so shameful for Rome would ever come to pass.

Despite his fragile condition, Claudius was put through a tough physical training by a brutal tutor. Academically, however, Claudius shone, proving himself a talented student with a hunger for knowledge. The historian Suetonius talks of the great interest he showed as a young man for the liberal arts, such as grammar and rhetoric. Later, Claudius had the good fortune to be taught by the great Roman historian Livy, and after this experience he dedicated himself wholeheartedly to studying and writing history.

All of Claudius's works have been lost, leaving historians to rely on accounts from other writers of what they contained. His studies of Rome's ancient Etruscan culture may have seemed remote from the political machinations of his family. But Claudius was a student of the all-too-recent civil wars that had led to Julius Caesar's dictatorship and the establishment of the Roman Empire under Augustus. It is said Claudius was candid in expressing his sympathies for the values of the old Roman republic and even went as far as criticizing Augustus.

His limp and stammer may not have been the only reasons why the royal dynasty wanted to keep him well away from power. These same defects may have protected him too. The powerful were less likely to feel threatened by a man regarded as a "cripple."

Influential Friends

Studying certainly seemed to offer Claudius solace from the ostracism imposed by his family. But Claudius also indulged in other forms of escapism, which do not fit so easily with the image of the shy scholar. He had a weakness for wine and gambling, becoming involved with episodes of debauchery that only compounded the image of loser.

But not all were taken in by the image of Claudius as a good-for-nothing. Long before the delusions and bloodletting of Caligula's rule, various factions were already taking a discreet interest in the stammering scholar. When Augustus died, the equites, a group of the Roman aristocracy just below the rank of senators, started to curry favor with Claudius.

Although, a pro-Claudius current was beginning to flow under the surface of Roman society, his tentative steps toward some kind of political role were serially thwarted. When Tiberius became emperor in A.D. 14, Claudius applied for the low-ranking magistrate's role of quaestor. The emperor rejected him, on the grounds he was not up to the task. Years later during the reign

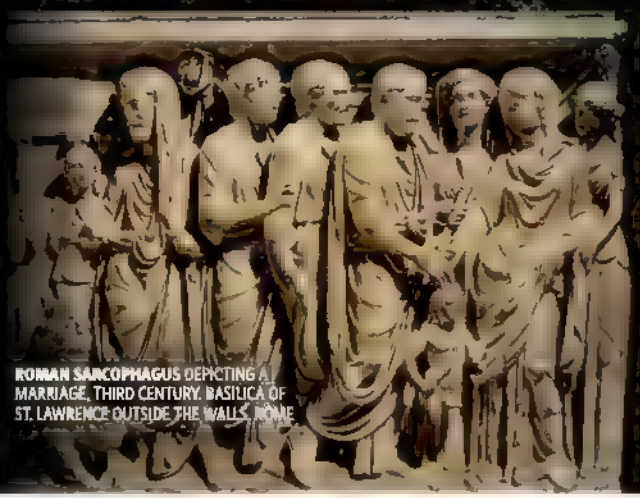
MAIN STREET, ANCIENT ROME
The Via Sacra was Rome's main highway, flanked by the city's most important monuments. In *Apocolocyntosis*, a satire on Claudius's reign, Seneca the Younger depicts Claudius's funeral procession passing down this street.
ANDREAS STRAUSS/AGE FOTOSTOCK

AN ENDURING LEGACY

One of the most solid of Claudius's works was the completion in A.D. 52 of the monumental Aqua Claudia, begun by Caligula. The aqueduct carried water to Rome from a spring 42 miles away.

A ROCKY FIRST MARRIAGE

OF HIS FOUR UNSUCCESSFUL MARRIAGES, Claudius's first one set the unhappy tone for all the rest to follow. In A.D. 9 he married his first wife, Plautia Urgulanilla, a member of a noble family closely connected to his grandmother, Livia. The marriage produced two children: a son who died as a teen after choking on a piece of pear, and a daughter Claudius claimed was not his biological offspring (he disowned her after the divorce). Claudius also suspected his wife of murdering her sister-in-law. Suetonius writes that Claudius divorced Plautia Urgulanilla "because of scandalous lewdness and the suspicion of murder."



ROMAN SARCOPHAGUS DEPICTING A MARRIAGE, THIRD CENTURY. BASILICA OF ST. LAWRENCE OUTSIDE THE WALLS, ROME

DEA/AGE FOTOSTOCK

THE FACE OF DIGNITY

Mocked for his stutter, portraits imparted gravitas to Claudius, such as this first-century agate brooch housed in the Museum of Art History, Vienna

BRIDGEMAN/ACI

of Caligula, Claudius was named co-consul, together with the emperor himself, but he only carried out the role for two months.

It was during this brief consulship that an eagle supposedly landed on Claudius's right shoulder: a clear premonition, it was later said, of his future destiny as emperor. Without the benefit of hindsight, this must have seemed a highly unlikely outcome, given the extremely low respect with which Claudius was held at that time. Following a failed plot against the emperor, it was decided to send Claudius to him in Germany with news of what had happened. When Caligula saw that his despised uncle had been sent, he took it as a personal affront, and threw Claudius into the river.

Even when his appearance and reputation did not put him in actual physical danger, Claudius was a habitual figure of fun. A heavy drinker at banquets, he would often fall asleep after dinner, at which guests would hurl olive pits at him. His married life did nothing to enhance his reputation. His fiancée, Livia Medulina, died suddenly on their wedding day. He divorced his first wife, Plautia Urgulanilla, on suspicion of both adultery and murder, throwing into doubt the paternity of his children. His third wife, Valeria Messalina, was famed for her beauty, promiscuity, and ability to influence her husband's political agenda. Gossips never tired of discussing her latest conquest and of all the times she had cuckolded her hapless husband.

A Reluctant Emperor

Mockery had, however, kept Claudius safe, and a sense of absurdity also marked his sudden rise to power. Even the day of Caligula's assassination in A.D. 41 was marked by a lack of dignity. As the emperor's killers went about their bloody task, Claudius cowered behind a curtain, failing to hide his feet from view. A passing guard saw them, and Claudius, on being discovered, was so terrified that he fell to the ground.

After his hurried proclamation as emperor, Claudius was taken by the Praetorian Guard to their encampment. On seeing him pass, the crowds assumed he was being taken away to be condemned. The following day the people demanded a new emperor, and Claudius finally accepted the greatness thrust on him.

On acceding, he took the wise precaution of offering 15,000 sesterces to every soldier in return for their loyalty—a shrewd start to a largely fruitful 13-year reign. In addition to beginning the conquest of Britain, Claudius maintained a judicious mix of moderation and occasional brutality to maintain loyalty at home. He carried out important administrative reforms to the Roman system of government, bringing logic and order after the waste and mismanagement of the Caligula years.

Outside the army, Claudius was never popular, and gained a reputation for long-winded speeches. The writer Seneca the Younger, who had been exiled by Claudius, gleefully satirized the emperor on his death. In a pun, he depicted Claudius undergoing not a glorious "apotheosis" or deification but an *apocolocyntosis*, meaning a "pumpkinification." Transformed into a grotesque pumpkin, his physical appearance continued defining him in death, as in life, despite all his accomplishments and service to Rome.

FRANCISCO GARCÍA-JURADO
GARCÍA-JURADO IS PROFESSOR OF LATIN PHILOLOGY AT THE COMPLUTENSE UNIVERSITY OF MADRID, SPAIN.

THE DEATH OF MESSALINA

Claudius's third wife, Messalina, was notorious in Rome for her promiscuity and political ambition. This detail from Victor-François Vi[illegible] depicts the moment Claudius orders Messalina's execution.

THE EMPEROR IS DEAD!

"A ROMAN EMPEROR," AN 1871 PAINTING BY LAWRENCE ALMA-TADEMA, DEPICTS THE DISCOVERY OF CALIGULA'S BODY. WALTERS ART GALLERY, BALTIMORE

1 *The Ladies Look On*
Some women have sneaked into the imperial palace to watch the bloody scene unfold from a corner.

2 *Soldiers Cheering*
The soldiers who have participated in the murder of Caligula raise their weapons to salute the new emperor.

3 *The Battle of Actium*
The painting depicts the victory of Augustus over Mark Antony, paving the way for Rome's transformation into an empire.

4 *The Dead Tyrant*
His protruding green boots allude to the nickname he was given as a boy: "little boot," or in Latin: Caligula.

LONG LIVE THE EMPEROR!

5 Bust of Augustus
The work is filled with references to the imperial dynasty, including the bust of Augustus streaked with blood.

6 Claudius Discovered
A Praetorian Guard discovers the terrified Claudius on seeing his red shoes showing under the curtain.

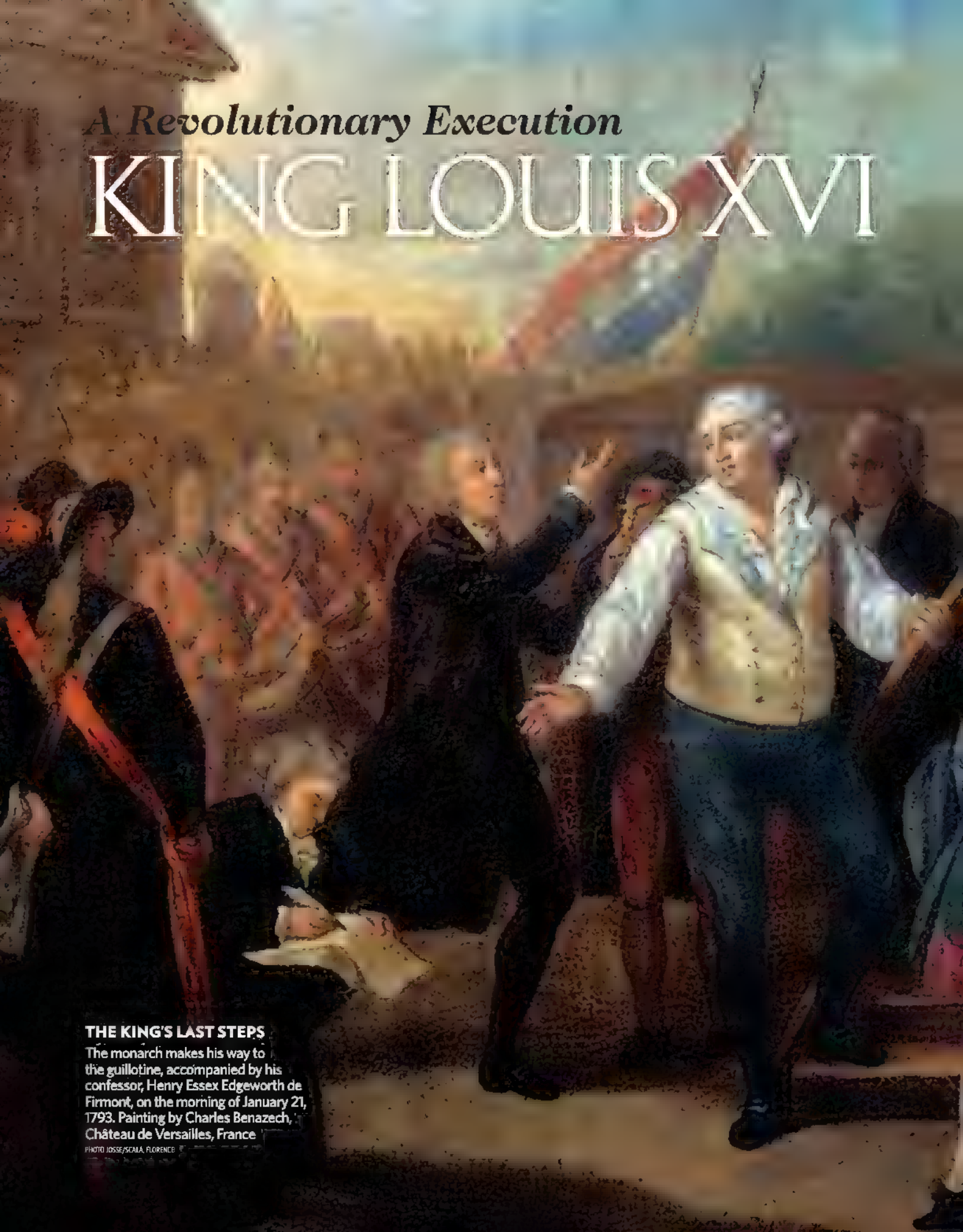
7 Hail Claudius
The soldier pulls back the curtain hiding Claudius, and bows to him to show he is favored as the new emperor.

8 Family Altar
Caligula is assassinated near the household altar of the palace, in the presence of images of his ancestors.

AKG/ALBUM

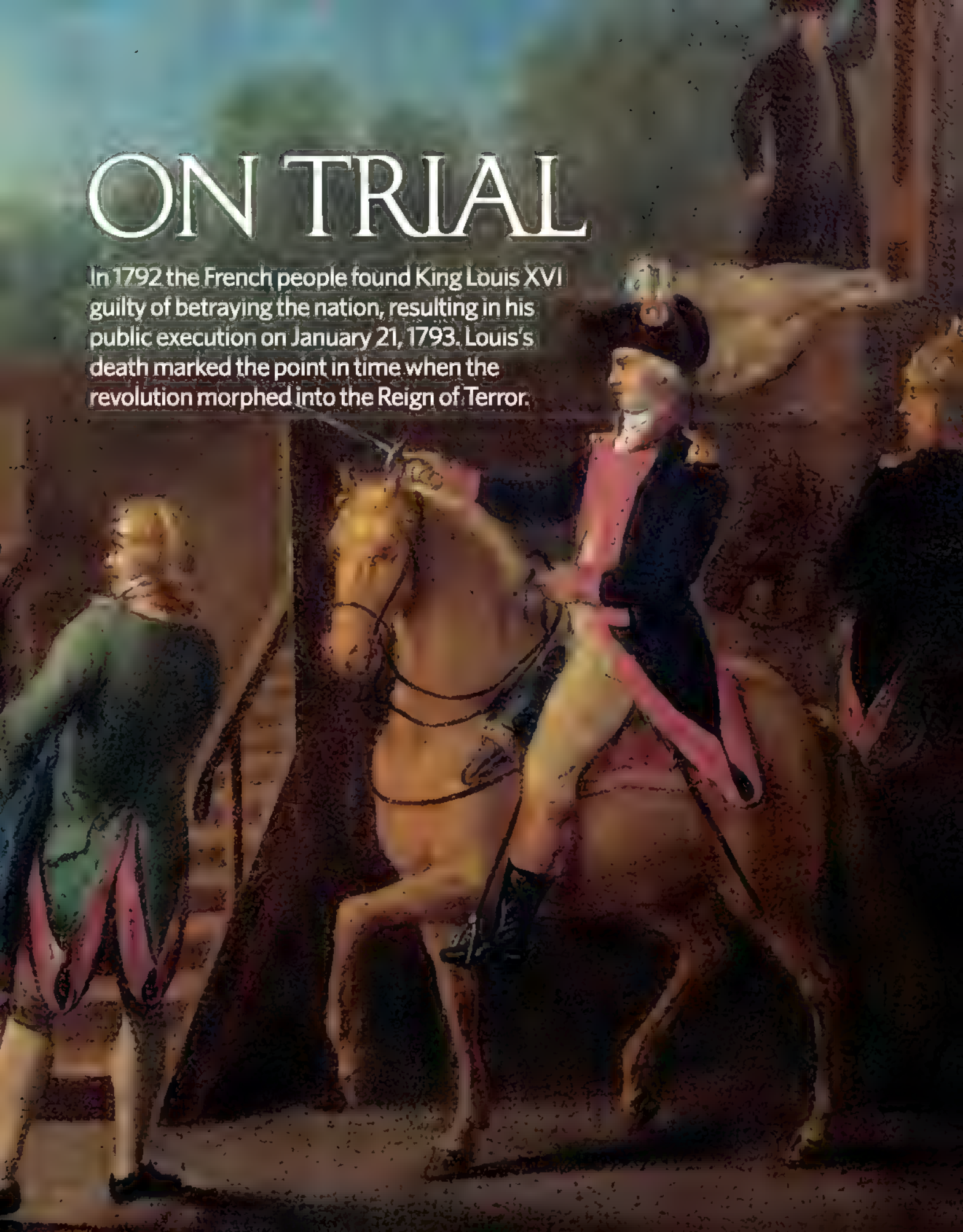
A Revolutionary Execution

KING LOUIS XVI



THE KING'S LAST STEPS
The monarch makes his way to the guillotine, accompanied by his confessor, Henry Essex Edgeworth de Firmont, on the morning of January 21, 1793. Painting by Charles Benazech, Château de Versailles, France

PHOTO: JOSSE/SCALA, FLORENCE



ON TRIAL

In 1792 the French people found King Louis XVI guilty of betraying the nation, resulting in his public execution on January 21, 1793. Louis's death marked the point in time when the revolution morphed into the Reign of Terror.

THE QUEEN'S PRISON

Following the fall of the monarchy a total of 2,700 prisoners awaited execution in the medieval palace of the Conciergerie, including Louis's wife, Marie-Antoinette.

t is evident that Louis XVI has betrayed his country. He is guilty of the most horrid perfidy. He has perjured himself over and over. His aim was to enslave all Frenchmen with the yoke of despotism." It was November 1792 when a deputy of the revolutionary Convention, Charles-François Morisson, spoke these words. The very fact that Morisson was one of the more sympathetic of the deputies toward the former king, shows how far Louis's fortunes had fallen.

Three weeks later, one of the most dramatic and remarkable trials in history opened in Paris, a spectacle that would end with France's former, all-powerful sovereign mounting the steps of the guillotine.

Three years before, political repression and an economic crisis had culminated in the momentous events of July 1789. Summoned to a meeting of France's Estates-General to attempt to resolve the nation's grave situation, representatives of the commons—known as the Third Estate, and representing the majority of the population—were angered when the nobility blocked their calls for reform. On July 14, 1789, revolutionaries stormed Paris's Bastille prison. July 14 has long since been celebrated as a French national holiday, commemorating the toppling of this hated symbol of royal authority.

The fall of the Bastille was the spark for the French Revolution, an event that triggered some of the most dramatic and enduring political changes in European history. Following the July 14 uprising, the Third Estate renamed itself as the National Assembly. It saw its purpose as converting France into nothing less than a secular democracy.

Within a few months, the Assembly abolished feudalism and reduced the economic and political power of the nobility and the Catholic Church. In August 1789 the Assembly passed the Declaration of the Rights of Man, a document heavily influenced by Thomas Jefferson, and the moral basis of much civil rights legislation today.

What, meanwhile, had happened to King Louis XVI? The most visible representative of the ancien régime, Louis had come to the throne in 1774 convinced of the need for limited social reform. Although stubborn and at times politically inept, Louis was by no means the most reactionary figure at court. France, even in the revolutionary days of 1789, was not yet a republic. Men like Morisson still respected Louis's authority, and throughout 1790 the Assembly's aim was to establish a constitutional monarchy. Louis fought for his political survival by paying lip service to the Assembly's demands while at the same time undermining attempts to reach a constitutional settlement.

Escape Attempt

Relations between the monarch and the revolutionary parties were increasingly poisoned by

TRIAL OF A MONARCH

Dec. 3, 1792
The Convention brings charges of treason against the former king, deposed in August.

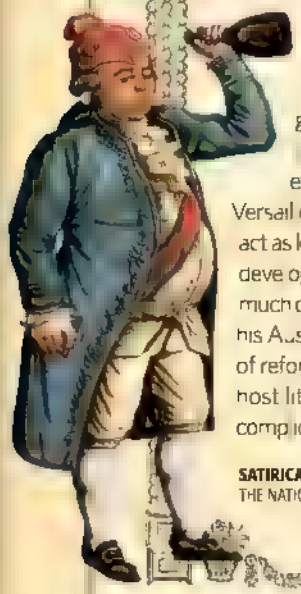
Dec. 26, 1792
The king's defense opens. It is argued that the Convention lacks the authority to try Louis.

Jan. 14-15, 1793
The Convention determines the verdict. Louis is found guilty of treason.

Jan. 16-17, 1793
Louis's punishment is debated. A majority votes to put him to death without delay.

Jan. 21, 1793
At 10:22 a.m. Louis XVI is executed by guillotine in what is today the Place de la Concorde, Paris.

VICTIM OF THE REVOLUTION



ASCENDING the throne in 1774 at age 20, Louis XVI started his reign with hopes of reforming the French government, and addressing the extreme inequality of French society. After the events of July 1789, he left the palace of Versailles and settled in Paris. He continued to act as king while a new constitution was being developed, which would sap the monarchy of much of its power. Louis and Marie-Antoinette, his Austrian-born wife, were seen as enemies of reform. Their opposition earned them the hostility of Parisians, who accused them of complicity with aristocrats and foreign enemies.

SATIRICAL IMAGE OF LOUIS IN 1792 DRINKING THE HEALTH OF THE NATION, WEARING THE REVOLUTIONARY RED CAP

1 FAREWELL TO VERSAILLES (OCTOBER 1789) Roused to fury by the rumors of a counterrevolution, about 7,000 women march on Versailles. They force the king to quit the lavish palace and take up residence in Paris.

2 TRAPPED IN THE TUILERIES (1791) Installed in their new palace, Louis and Marie-Antoinette are effectively under house arrest. The Assembly attempts to reach consensus on a constitution that would accommodate the king as head of state.

3 A FAILED ESCAPE (JUNE 21, 1791) Louis and his family attempt to escape from France into the protection of Austria. The royal party is caught near the border, arrested, and conveyed to Paris, where the anti-royal mood is hardening.

4 FRANCE IS INVADED (JULY 1792) On July 25 the commander of the invading Prussian-Austrian forces threatens Paris with destruction if the king is harmed, as anger against the royal family builds in France.

5 THE MONARCHY FALLS (AUGUST 10, 1792) Crowds of revolutionaries storm the Tuileries Palace to topple the king. Many die in the skirmishes. Louis and the royal family throw themselves on the mercy of the Assembly.

6 PRISON (AUGUST 13, 1792) Deposed as monarch, Louis and his family are transferred to the Temple as prisoners. En route, the royal party is insulted by the crowds. A month later, on September 21, France is declared a republic.

LEFT TO RIGHT, TOP TO BOTTOM: ART ARCHIVE; ART ARCHIVE; SCALA, FLORENCE; BRIDGEMAN/ACI; PRISMA; SCALA, FLORENCE; PRISMA

"Louis must die so that France may live."

—MAXIMILIEN DE ROBESPIERRE, JACOBIN LEADER

distrust. Louis's constant attempts to obstruct political change and preserve his power led to the forced relocation of the royal family from Versailles to the Tuileries Palace in Paris in October 1789. His queen, Marie-Antoinette, became a popular target for revolutionaries. They accused her of plotting with her brother, the Archduke of Austria, whose government would soon emerge as revolutionary France's principal enemy.

Alarmed by the radical turn of events in Paris, Austria offered sanctuary to many noble French émigrés. In June 1791 the royal family tried to escape to Austria over France's northeast border but were captured near Varennes. Louis and his family returned to Paris, where they were placed under house arrest. At the close of 1791 war drums were already beating, and in 1792 northern France was invaded by the combined armies of Austria and Prussia.

In the first stages of the war, King Louis gambled on regaining popularity in France as a figure of national unity in the face of an outside threat. But his domestic position was weakening daily. The French people increasingly saw him as a traitor, and an insurrection finally removed the monarchy from power in August 1792.

Even as it was being declared, however, the République Française was born into blood, turmoil, and paranoia. The invasion, the prospect of a siege of Paris, as well as Marie-Antoinette's suspect Austrian links, led to increasingly violent rhetoric in radical revolutionary quarters. Believed to be plotting against the republic, imprisoned nobles and clerics were slaughtered in Paris and other cities in the wave of bloodletting known as the September Massacres.

Fate of the Former King

Amid such hatred of the nobility it was almost inevitable that the popular fury would fall on the beleaguered king, now languishing with his family imprisoned in the Temple fortress. Public clamor to put Louis on trial for his alleged crimes—which included his support for foreign invasion—grew steadily louder throughout the turbulent fall of 1792.

Finally the Assembly agreed to discuss the possibility, although its members proved very divided on the issue. On one side was the Girondin faction, so-called because they were from the Gironde region of France, near Bordeaux. In spite of their anti-royal sentiments, the Girondins also condemned the September Massacres, led, in the words of their leader Jacques-Pierre Brissot "by disorganizers who want to level everything—private property, riches, the price of goods."

Ranged against the Girondins was the Montagnard faction, nicknamed after the French word for "mountain" due to their position at the highest part of the Assembly chamber. Their leader was Maximilien de Robespierre, who would cast a dark shadow over France later the following year when he emerged as the leading figure in the wholesale butchery known as the Reign of Terror.

The uncompromising struggle between the two factions centered more and more on the question of what to do with the king. Against the reticence of the Girondins who feared—rightly, as it turned out—that a trial would radicalize the revolution, the Montagnards considered that that step had become inevitable.

The Montagnard agitators won. By early October 1792 the former Assembly, now known as the National Convention, formed a committee to establish grounds to try the monarch. Their principal obstacle was the constitution of the year before, which declared that the person of the king was inviolable. Opposing this view, the radical elements pointed out that, as the 1791 Constitution predated the existence of the republic, it no longer applied. Arguing that the former king himself had, on several occasions,

LIBERTÉ, ÉGALITÉ, FRATERNITÉ

A republican engraving from 1792. The toppling of the king was seen by the revolutionaries as the fulfillment of the revolutionary ideals of 1789

AKG/ALBUM

THE ROYAL FAMILY DINE IN THE TEMPLE PRISON, AUGUST 1792. ANONYMOUS ENGRAVING

Louis's last months were spent under guard in a fortress, by order of the Convention.

PRISONERS IN THE TEMPLE

FROM AUGUST 13, 1792, Louis and his family were held in the former fortress of the Temple in Paris, under constant watch by the National Guards. The new conditions would have come as a shock to a family who once enjoyed every luxury. The royals now only had two servants, one of whom, the valet Cléry, later wrote an account of Louis's period under guard at the Temple. He describes a daily routine not unlike that of a bourgeois Parisian family.

A DAY IN THE TEMPLE

MORNING

6 A.M. The king rises, and is shaved by his servant. He prays and reads in his room.

9 A.M. The whole family breakfasts in the king's chamber.

10 A.M. The queen gives lessons in geography and literature to her two children.

11 A.M. The queen sews or embroiders with her daughter and the king's sister, Elizabeth.

MIDDAY

NOON The women retire to change their clothes.

1 P.M. In good weather the family walk in the garden of the Temple, under the vigilance of guards. The children play.

2 P.M. The royal family sit down together for an afternoon meal in the room reserved for the king.

3 P.M. The family relax by playing cards and reading together.

EVENING

4 P.M. The king has a nap while the queen and the children read silently. Lessons are resumed.

8 P.M. Dinner is served to the children.

9 P.M. Dinner is served to the king in his room. He then wishes the queen and his children goodnight.

MIDNIGHT After reading, the king goes to sleep, watched over by a guard.

LOUIS AND HIS FAMILY IN THE GARDEN OF THE TEMPLE. CARNAVALET MUSEUM, PARIS

TOP TO BOTTOM: WHITE IMAGES/SCALA, FLORENCE; ART ARCHIVE

"One cannot reign innocently. Every king is a rebel and a usurper."

—LOUIS DE SAINT-JUST, PROPONENT FOR THE KING'S EXECUTION

violated that constitution anyway, the radicals considered it obsolete. They called for the Convention to bring Louis to trial immediately.

On November 13, a deeply divided Convention met to vote. Charles-François Morisson decided that the Convention did not have the power to try him: "As befits impartial judges, we must, with a cool head, consult our penal code," Morisson said. "And we find it contains no provision that could be applied to Louis XVI, for when he committed those crimes, he was exempt under the Constitution."

For all that the Girondins invoked the law, popular opinion was running them. The Montagnards were further boosted by the emergence of one of the revolution's most charismatic figures: Louis de Saint-Just. Only in his mid-20s, Saint-Just's intransigent position was perhaps a hint of what he would later become. When the Reign of Terror began the following year, he emerged as one of its most fanatical proponents, earning himself the nickname *l'Ange de la Mort*—the Angel of Death.

His fiery speech to the Convention in November 1792 was one of the most memorable in a society that prized rhetoric. Heavily influenced by the Swiss-born French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Saint-Just argued that the question should not be settled by man-made laws, but rather the "natural law" that deplores tyranny. The king, he said, had broken the "social contract" with the French people, therefore he was an enemy of the people: "Citizens, the tribunal which must judge Louis is not a judiciary tribunal . . . it is a council . . . it is the People . . . it is you."

The National Convention, Saint-Just insisted, was the only body that could legitimately judge him. His speech ended with one of the most quoted lines of the French Revolution: "One cannot reign innocently. Every king is a rebel and a usurper."

Incriminating Evidence

On November 20 Jean-Marie Roland, the minister of the interior, revealed that secret documents had been found in the king's possession in a cabinet in the Tuileries Palace. These papers proved, he said, that not only had Louis XVI continued paying a large number of émigré monarchists, but had done so with public funds. These émigrés were now supporting the armies of foreign powers that were waging war against France. The papers also showed that the king had made secret agreements with France's archenemy, Austria.

THE ROYAL DEFENDANT TESTIFIES

Dressed in a blue dress coat, the king (right), accompanied by his advisers, reads his defense under the watchful gaze of the deputies of the Convention. Engraving, 1792

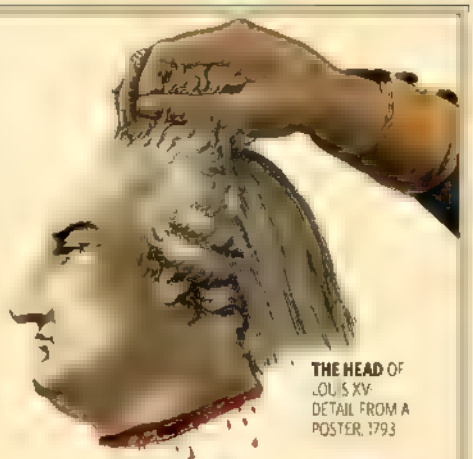
ART ARCHIVE

Meanwhile, in Paris, popular agitation was growing at the apparent delays in the judicial process against Louis. On December 1, Jacques Roux, leader of the radical working-class group known as the Enragés (the Enraged Ones), gave a fiery speech in a Paris neighborhood in which he called for the immediate trial of the man he called Louis le Dernier, Louis the Last. He accused him not only of betraying France to enemy powers but also of having provoked price speculation when he was king, which had caused deep suffering among the poor. Other revolutionary districts of the capital rose to make the same charges against the former king.

The Convention reconvened. Increasingly militant rhetoric revealed how desperate the deposed king's position was becoming. Robespierre went so far as to say the king's execution

THE REIGN OF TERROR

The king's execution and foreign tensions led to the Reign of Terror, a campaign against suspected enemies of the revolution Throughout France, as many as 300,000 people were arrested, 17,000 executed, and 10,000 more died in prison or awaiting trial



THE HEAD OF LOUIS XV: DETAIL FROM A POSTER, 1793

Europe's Reaction

Movement Against France

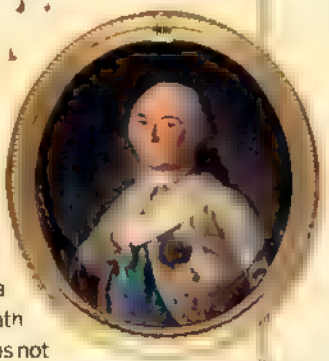
AS NEWS of the king's execution spread through Europe, its crowned heads made elaborate shows of mourning. The British prime minister, William Pitt the Younger, termed the beheading as "the foulest and most atrocious act the world has ever seen," and joined the growing coalition of forces against France.

ARMS OF THE HABSBURG DYNASTY, RULERS OF AUSTRIA

Philippe, Duc d'Orléans

Turning On Their Own

THE DUKE OF ORLÉANS had a distant claim to the French throne. Even so, he was known for his liberal ideas from his youth, and welcomed the revolution with enthusiasm. As a deputy, he voted in favor of Louis's death sentence. His loyalty to the radicals was not rewarded, however. He was guillotined on November 6, 1793.



PHILIPPE D'ORLÉANS IN A PORTRAIT FROM 1777

Chrétien de Malesherbes

The King's Counsel's Tragic End

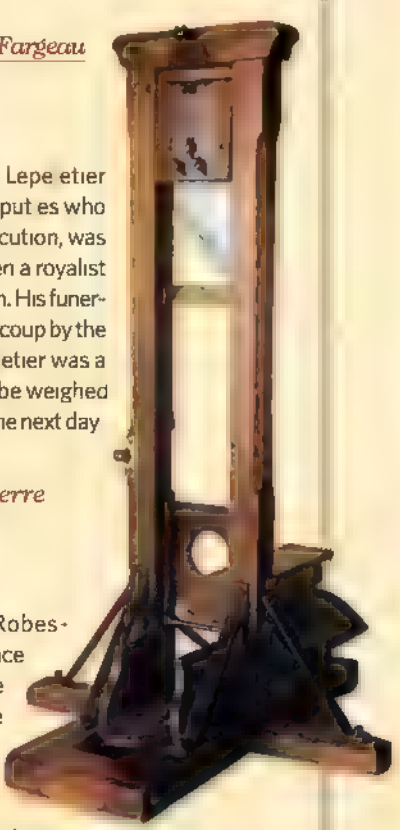
HIS HEARTFELT DEFENSE of the king throughout the trial made Malesherbes an object of suspicion to the radicals. Later accused of being "a servant of royal tyranny," he was arrested and tried in a revolutionary tribunal, along with his daughter, his granddaughter, and her husband. All went to the guillotine on the same day, April 22, 1794.

MALESHERBES RECEIVES THE ORDER FOR HIS ARREST

Louis Lepeletier de Saint-Fargeau

Martyr of the Revolutionaries

ON JANUARY 20, 1793, Louis Lepeletier de Saint-Fargeau, one of the deputies who had just voted for the king's execution, was in a café in the Palais Royal when a royalist pounced on him and stabbed him. His funeral was turned into a propaganda coup by the revolutionary authorities. Lepeletier was a "martyr," whose murder could be weighed against the monarch executed the next day.



THE GUILLOTINE WAS NAMED FOR JOSEPH GUILLOTIN IN 1790

The Fall of the Girondins

Death to the Opposition

THE EFFORTS BY THE GIRONDIN faction to save the king cost them dearly. The radicals accused their rivals of being "criminal accomplices of royalty, enemies of freedom and equality." Following an unsuccessful rebellion against the radicals, many were arrested and guillotined on October 31, 1793.

MEMBERS OF THE GIRONDIN ARE CONVEYED TO THE GUILLOTINE

Maximilien de Robespierre

How the Mighty Are Fallen

BY THE SUMMER of 1793 Robespierre's radical faction held France in an iron grip of fear. Despite the purging of his enemies during the Terror, the moderates finally turned the tables on him. The man who had sent so many to the guillotine was himself guillotined in July 1794.

LEFT TO RIGHT, TOP TO BOTTOM: LEEMAGE/PRISMA; BRIDGEMAN/ACI; SCALA, FLORENCE; BRIDGEMAN/ACI; ALBUM; GTRES

"I seek judges among you, but I see only accusers."

—RAYMOND DE SÈZE, DEFENSE COUNSEL TO LOUIS XVI

could take place without a trial, because the people had already found him guilty.

"Louis must die because the nation must live," Robespierre famously declared on December 3. "A people that is still fighting for its freedom after so much sacrifice and so many battles . . . such a people should want to be avenged."

Jean-Paul Marat, however, another Montagnard, disagreed: "Louis Capet must be judged," he insisted, using Louis's surname to show the former sovereign was now on the same footing as any other citizen. Such a trial, Marat said, "is necessary, so as to instruct the people."

That day, the Montagnards got their wish. The trial of the 18th century was to go ahead.

Opening Statements

The spectacle began on December 3, 1792. The disgraced former sovereign entered the hall of the Convention. When he was seated, he heard the charges solemnly read to him, detailing his alleged greed and treachery against the French people. The final charge read, simply: "You caused the blood of Frenchmen to flow."

The king asked for proof of these charges, and that he be allowed to choose a team to advise him in his defense. The first adviser he chose, Guy-Jean-Baptiste Target, turned down the appointment on grounds of poor health. In the end, François Tronchet, a jurist, and Chrétien de Malesherbes, one of Louis's former ministers, took up the poisoned chalice of defending a man whose fate was already sealed.

The defense opened on December 26. The statement in favor of the king was delivered by Raymond de Sèze, a young lawyer chosen by Malesherbes and Tronchet. His argument was carefully structured. He reminded the Convention that the 1791 Constitution recognized the inviolability of the king's royal person. He also observed that Louis was being judged not as a king but as a citizen, and should enjoy the guarantees of key civil rights: a jury to decide his sentence, the hearing of witnesses, and an analysis of documents by experts. In the absence of such guarantees, he argued, the Convention was not an adequate tribunal. "I seek judges among you," Sèze pronounced, "but I see only accusers."

He then went on to apologize for the actions of the king in the opening stages of the revolution, but denied the ex-sovereign's connivance with the states whose armies had invaded France.

When the king withdrew, the debate began. The Girondins immediately began fighting to head off a death sentence. They warned that a draconian sentence against Louis would unleash the fury of all the European powers against France. They also argued that any sentence passed should be ratified in a plebiscite, a direct vote by the people. On December 28 Robespierre made a no less alarming counterclaim: A call for a popular debate on the sentence, he warned, would lead to civil war.

One after another, the deputies tried to win over the moderates of the Convention, known as the Plain, because they lay between the Montagnards and the Girondins. Finally, on January 4, 1793, the Plain rejected the option of a plebiscite: "A law might be ratified by the people; but the trial of a king is not a law . . . the trial is, in reality, an act of public salvation, and such an act cannot be put to the people to decide."

ARCHITECT OF THE REIGN OF TERROR

Bronze medallion with the head of Maximilien de Robespierre, whose position was strengthened following Louis's death. The Granger Collection, New York

PRISMA ARCHIVO

The Verdict

On January 14 and 15, the vote on the verdict took place. It was a complex process: Each and every deputy had to climb up to the tribune of the Convention and announce their vote, aloud. If they wanted, they could also deliver a speech to explain their reasoning. The motion was: "Is Louis Capet, former King of the French, guilty of conspiring against freedom, and of assaulting the security of the State—yes, or no?"

The votes were cast: Out of 749 deputies, 693 voted yes. A second motion was voted on: "The sentence passed should be submitted to the ratification of the people, yes or no?" The results

FROM CARNAGE TO CONCORD

The square where Louis was executed in January 1793 was known as the Place de la Révolution. Many more died by the guillotine here in the ensuing Terror. In a gesture of reconciliation, it was renamed Place de la Concorde in 1795

"I pray to God that the blood you are going to shed will never fall on France."

—LOUIS XVI, KING OF FRANCE

came back, with a clear majority against a plebiscite. The king, therefore, was guilty, and the sentence of the Convention would be definitive.

January 16 dawned, a day on which the fates not just of the doomed king rested, but also of many of the deputies present. There only remained the question of what the king's sentence should be. The consequences of the Convention's decision would be well remembered in the state-sponsored terror looming ahead. The Girondins, struggling to press the case for a non-capital sentence, requested the voting bar be raised to require two-thirds of the Convention. But it was decided, in a severe blow for the king, that a simple majority would suffice.

Voting lasted all day and stretched into the night of the 17th. The vote was close, but those opting for capital punishment—whether immediate or deferred—had a clear majority. Some deputies voted in favor of death, with the proviso that the sentence should be deferred, but the final vote showed a total of 361 deputies voted for a death sentence to be carried out immediately, against 334 deputies who voted in favor of other types of punishment. On the morning on January 18, the Girondin Pierre Vergniaud delivered the results: "I declare, in the name of the Convention, that the punishment decreed against Louis Capet, is death." Malesherbes, who had nearly fainted in his final desperate attempts to defend the king's life before the deputies, went to the Temple to break the bad news to Louis.

The Guillotine Falls

Louis reacted calmly. On January 20 he made three requests: a stay of execution to prepare for death, authorization to see his family in private, and permission for his confessor to be Henry Essex Edgeworth de Firmont, an Irish-born priest who had refused to swear loyalty to the revolutionary Constitution. The first request, for a stay of execution, was flatly denied. The other two petitions were granted, and that evening, Edgeworth de Firmont was admitted to Louis's rooms.

The next day, the morning of his death, the former king rose at five to attend Mass, which was celebrated by Edgeworth de Firmont. He was taken to see Marie-Antoinette for the last time, and requested, unsuccessfully, to be able to cut his own hair in preparation for the guillotine's blade.

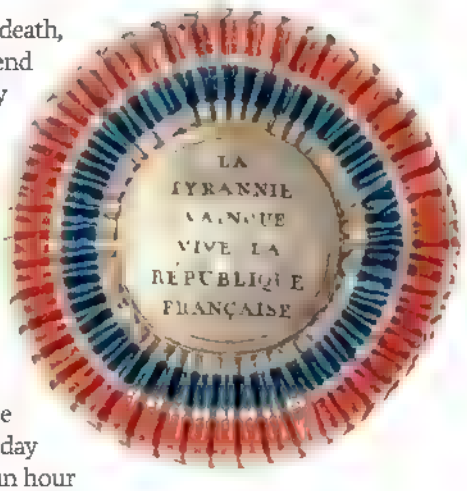
The chief of the National Guard of Paris, arrived to escort him to the scaffold at around 8:30. The journey between the Temple and the Place de la Révolution (today the Place de la Concorde) lasted an hour and a half, with many thousands of national guards, armed with pikes and rifles, posted along the route.

Finally, at ten o'clock, the former king and his escorts reached the foot of the scaffold, located opposite the Tuileries Palace from whose opulence he had once ruled. The square was filled with thousands of soldiers.

The king took off his coat, and his hands were tied. He mounted the scaffold accompanied by Edgeworth de Firmont, from where he attempted to address the crowd, proclaiming his innocence. According to the testimony of Edgeworth de Firmont, he said: "I die innocent of all the crimes of which I am charged. I forgive the authors of my death and I pray to God that the blood you are going to shed will never fall on France." The words were lost in the growing drum roll. His executioner later recorded the moment after the blade fell, at exactly 10:22 a.m. One of his assistants, he said, lifted the head of the dead king to the people, whereupon a huge cry arose: "*Vive la Nation! Vive la République!*"

Louis XVI's death was unprecedented; he was the only King of France to be executed by his own people. His death closed the door on hundreds of years of continuous French monarchy and opened up a time of revolution. ■

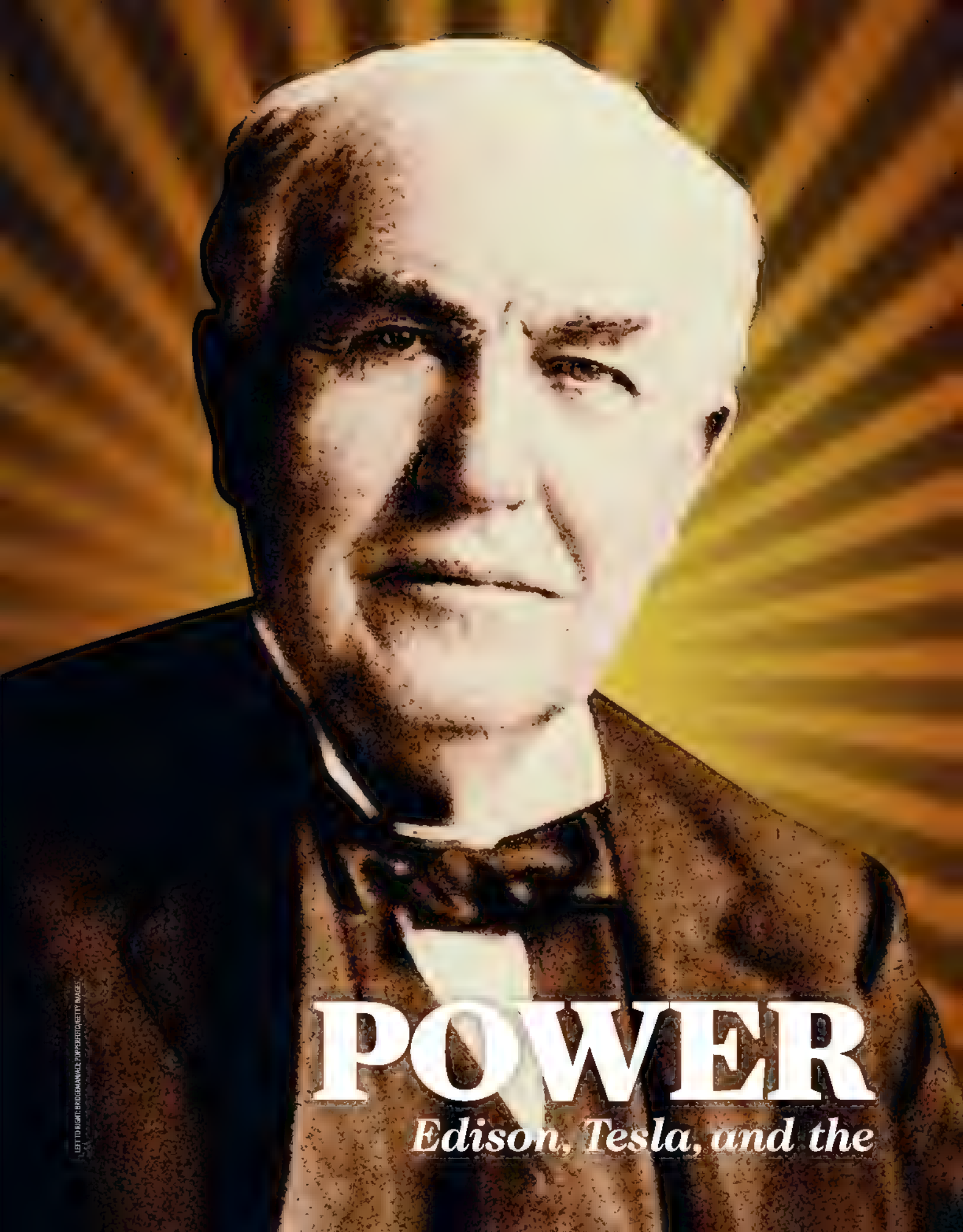
JOAN TAFALLA
ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF HISTORY AT THE AUTONOMOUS UNIVERSITY OF BARCELONA, SPAIN. TAFALLA IS A SPECIALIST ON ROBESPIERRE



ROSETTE OF THE REVOLUTION

"Tyranny Is No More. Long Live the French Republic," reads the legend on this *cocarde*—rosette—from the 1790s, whose colors live on in France's national tricolor flag.

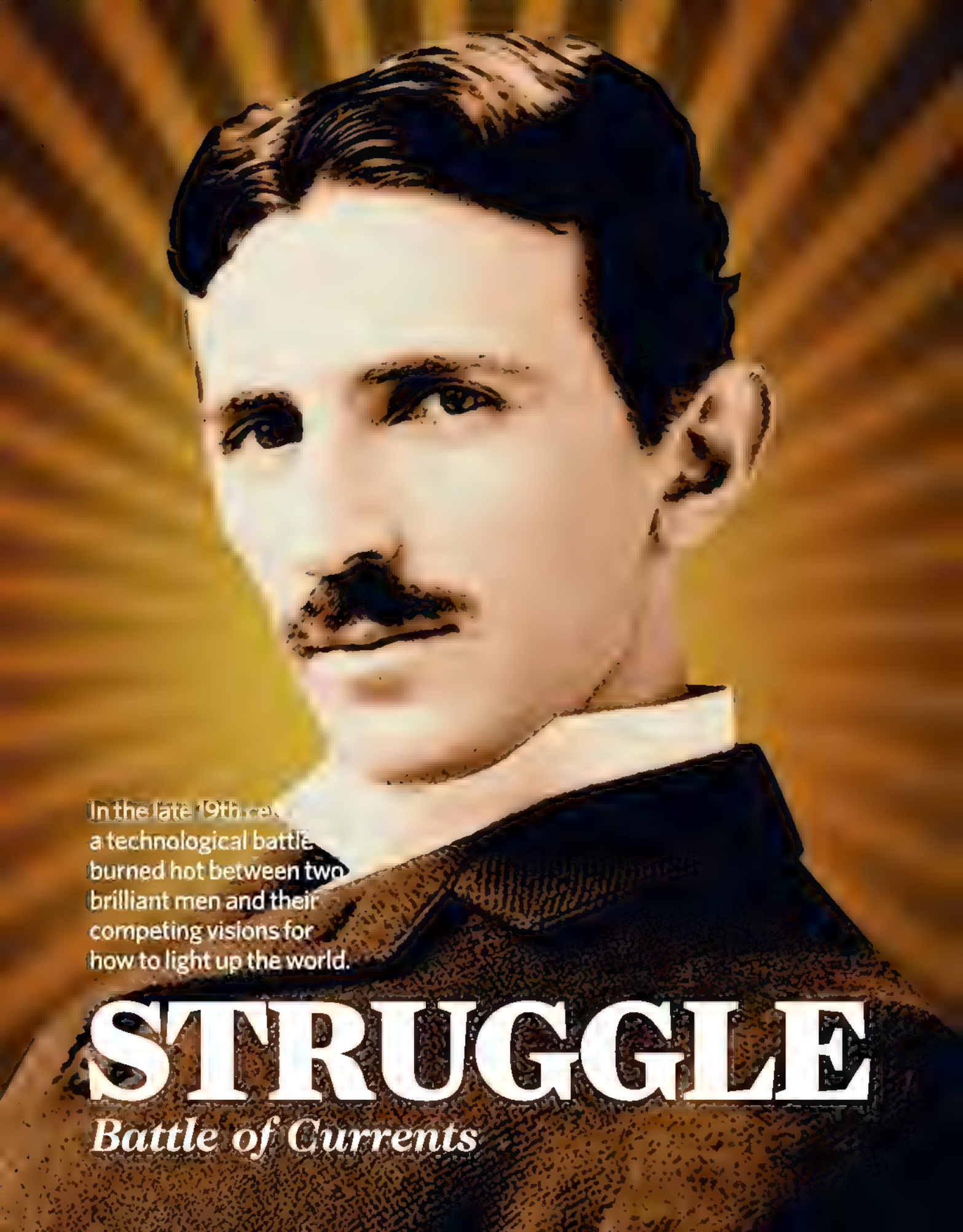
AKG/ALBUM



POWER

Edison, Tesla, and the

LEFT TO RIGHT: BRIDGEMAN/ALE; POPPERFOTO/GETTY IMAGES


In the late 19th ce
a technological battle
burned hot between two
brilliant men and their
competing visions for
how to light up the world.
STRUGGLE
Battle of Currents

In 1891 a tall, dark, and handsome man strode onto the stage in the lecture hall at Columbia University in New York City. Grasping a brass ball in each hand, the man touched the terminals of a high-voltage, high-frequency transformer (what is today called a Tesla coil). For a moment, 250,000 volts raced across the surface of his body, causing him to be surrounded by what one newspaper called "the Effulgent Glory of Myriad Tongues of Electric Flame."

Yet after a few moments, the man stepped away from the apparatus, the electrical aura dissipated, and to the delight of the audience, he was unharmed. Who was this man and why did he take this risk?

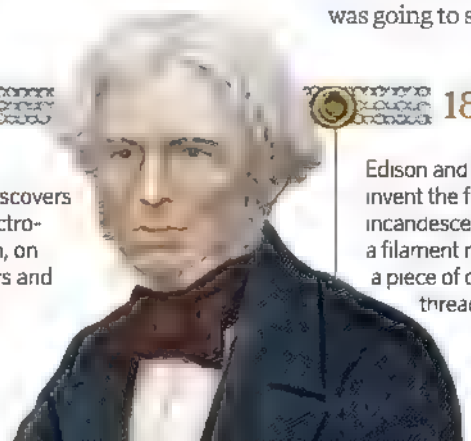
The man was Nikola Tesla, inventor of the alternating current (AC) motor. Tesla took the risk to demonstrate the safety of AC. For the past several years, the Edison Electric Light Company had been waging a campaign against AC. Its direct current (DC) systems had been losing market share to Tesla's friends at the Westinghouse Electric Company, and in response, the Edison group had decided to challenge the safety of AC through sensational stories in the newspapers. Tesla hoped, through his dramatic demonstration, to disarm the negative publicity. In the late 1880s, when electricity was the "Wild West" of technology, no one knew what kind of system was going to succeed.

ILLUMINATING HISTORY

1831 English physicist Michael Faraday discovers the principle of electromagnetic induction, on which all generators and motors are based

1879 Edison and his staff invent the first practical incandescent lamp using a filament made from a piece of carbonized thread.

1882 Edison builds a DC power station on Pearl Street so that he can illuminate incandescent lamps in offices in downtown Manhattan.



MICHAEL FARADAY, 19TH-CENTURY ENGLISH CHEMIST, PHYSICIST, AND INVENTOR

BRANGER/GORDON PRESS

DE AGOSTINI/GETTY IMAGES; COLORIZATION: PEREZ

BRIGHT LIGHTS, BIG CITY

This 1889 engraving by William Allen Rogers (above) for *Harper's Weekly* magazine shows New York's burgeoning night life along Grand Avenue, thanks to the illumination from electric arc lights.

Frequently, technological controversies—the race between two inventions vying for widespread acceptance—are resolved through rational means: one invention might be cheaper than the other, another could be accepted because it's safer than the alternative, and still other inventions succeed because of standards set by engineers or government regulators.

Yet every so often, controversies don't work out so neatly, and that's what happened when Tesla and Edison fought over the future of electric power distribution. It was a battle that involved gruesome demonstrations, juvenile name-calling, and attempts to outlaw AC. In the end, though, cooler engineering heads prevailed, and, because of its ability to distribute electric power widely and cheaply, AC won the day.

Let There Be Light

The common belief that Thomas Edison singlehandedly invented electric lighting in 1879 isn't true. The first electric light was the arc light, invented by Sir Humphry Davy in 1807. Inspired by the electric battery invented by Alessandro Volta in 1800, Davy had built a huge electric battery in the basement of the Royal Institution in London. To demonstrate the power of his battery, Davy connected the battery terminals to two carbon rods. When he separated the carbons by a tiny distance, the current jumped the gap

1887

Tesla invents the first practical AC motor, which he later sells to George Westinghouse, a believer in the superiority of AC power over DC.

1890

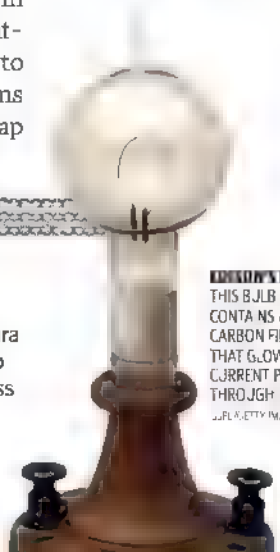
Edison's associates convince Auburn prison to use a Westinghouse AC generator to execute a convicted murderer, William Kemmler

1893

The Westinghouse Electric Company first demonstrates its AC system by powering tens of thousands of lights at the Chicago World's Fair

1896

Westinghouse AC generators are installed in the Niagara hydroelectric plant to transmit power across New York State.



EDISON'S LAMP

THIS BULB FROM 1879 CONTAINS A SINGLE CARBON FILAMENT THAT GLOWED WHEN CURRENT PASSED THROUGH IT.

SSPL/GETTY IMAGES

GENIUS AT WORK IN THE GARDEN STATE

IN 1876, TIRED OF ARGUING with Newark landlords, Edison decided to build his own laboratory in the tiny village of Menlo Park, New Jersey, located 25 miles southwest of New York City. Edison had his father (a former carpenter) erect a 30-by-100-foot wooden building to house a machine shop and laboratory. Working with craftsmen and scientists, Edison turned out "a minor invention every ten days and a big thing every six months or so." Among the big things coming out of tiny Menlo Park were an improved telephone transmitter, the phonograph, and, of course, the incandescent lamp. Even though his years in Menlo Park were productive, Edison moved to New York City in 1882 to manage his new lighting enterprise, and Menlo Park was abandoned.

PRESERVING MENLO PARK

Henry Ford regarded Menlo Park as America's first R&D lab and decided to restore it in the 1920s. Ford moved the entire complex to Dearborn, Michigan (above), where it is now part of the Henry Ford Museum and Greenfield Village.

D. R. FRAZIER/ALAMY/AC

and gave off a bright light. Over the next 50 years (1810s–1860s), inventors worked to develop arc lamps with electromechanical regulators that maintained the exact gap needed between the carbons to create the bright light. But their efforts were limited as long as they had to rely on batteries; to expand, they needed a new source of electric current.

That new source was the dynamo or generator. In 1831 Michael Faraday (who had started his career as Davy's lab assistant) showed that if you moved a conductor through a magnetic field where the motion was at right angles to the magnetic field, then a current would be induced in the conductor. Seizing on Faraday's principle of electromagnetic induction, ingenious instrument makers began fashioning new machines that could be cranked by hand or powered by a steam engine to produce a strong electric current.

The possibility of using arc lights to illuminate streets and large buildings spurred other electricians to improve the generator, and in 1876, Charles Brush in Cleveland designed a DC generator that powered four arc lights in a series circuit. Brush's powerful lights were used to illuminate streets, factories, and shops, including Wanamaker's department store in Philadelphia.

Arc lighting was great for illuminating streets and large buildings. Indeed, it's still used today in the powerful searchlights that are beamed skyward to announce the opening of a new store or movie.

Edison and Incandescent Lighting

But arc lighting was not useful if one wanted a smaller, softer electric light. Recognizing that customers would buy an electric light similar to existing gas lights, Edison decided in 1878 to drop his work at Menlo Park on the telephone and phonograph and plunge into a field he knew nothing about—electric lighting.

To create a smaller lamp, Edison decided to rely on incandescence—an object's ability to glow when heated. Once it reaches a critical temperature, the object not only glows but can emit bright light. To take advantage of incandescence, Edison experimented initially with platinum. Because this metal has a high melting point,

I'LL TAKE NEW YORK. IN THIS CURRIER & IVES PRINT FROM THE LATE 1800s, EDISON (LEFT) AND CHARLES BRUSH, INVENTOR OF THE ARC LAMP, ARE SHOWN AS RIVALS OVER LIGHTING UP NEW YORK.
MPI/GETTY IMAGES

Edison assumed that he could pass a current through a platinum filament, and the heat would cause the filament to incandesce. However, he discovered that oxygen attacked and weakened the platinum when it was heated. To overcome this problem, Edison placed the metal filament in a vacuum bulb.

While the vacuum improved the performance of his lamps, platinum was still too costly and also had a low electrical resistance, which meant his future system would need large and expensive copper cables. Fortunately, Edison realized that he could overcome the need for large copper distribution mains by increasing the resistance of each lamp and putting them in parallel circuits.

The challenge now became finding a high-resistance filament. For several months in 1879, Edison and his team tried dozens of materials, only to find that the lampblack carbon Edison had been using in his telephone transmitters was the ideal material. As one newspaper report described the Eureka moment:

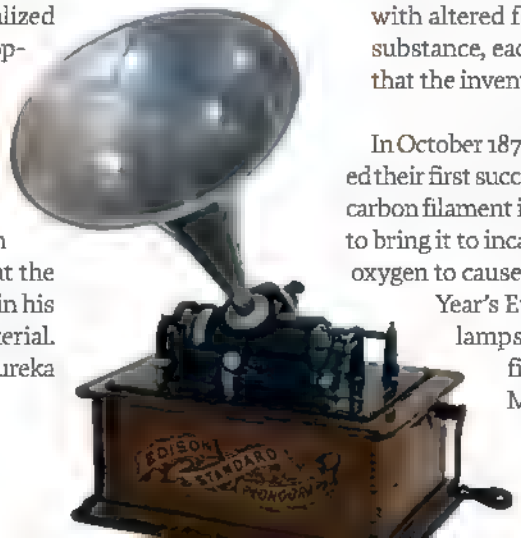
Sitting one night in his laboratory reflecting on some of the unfinished details, Edison began abstractedly rolling between his fingers a piece of compressed lampblack until it had become a slender thread. Happening to glance at it, the idea occurred to him that it might give good results as a burner if made incandescent. A few minutes later the experiment was tried, and to the inventor's gratification, satisfactory, although not surprising results were obtained. Further experiments were made, with altered forms and composition of the substance, each experiment demonstrating that the inventor was upon the right track.

In October 1879 Edison and his staff conducted their first successful experiments by putting a carbon filament in a vacuum, and they were able to bring it to incandescence since there was no oxygen to cause the filament to burn. By New Year's Eve, Edison was demonstrating lamps using carbonized cardboard filaments to large crowds at his Menlo Park laboratory.

SUPER SOUNDS OF THE (EIGHTEEN) SEVENTIES

One of his most successful creations, Edison's phonograph was invented in 1877. Production of this model began in 1898 and lasted for 15 years.

LEBRECHT MUSIC/ALBUM



TESLA'S WORLD POWER PLAN

TESLA'S MOST FAMOUS LAB, WARDENCLYFFE, was located on Long Island. In 1901 J. P. Morgan loaned Tesla $150,000 to fund a plan for broadcasting power around the world. Famous architect Stanford White designed the main brick building, in which electric current waves would be generated before traveling via cables to a nearby tower and underground shaft. There, the tower functioned as a gigantic Tesla coil, increasing the current to millions of volts and sending it down the shaft to propagate through the Earth's crust. Tesla believed that consumers would tap these subterranean currents in order to power lights and motors. He was also confident that everyone would carry a small receiver, "no bigger than a pocket watch," which could receive news and telephone calls. Unfortunately, Tesla couldn't secure more funding to continue his work. He suffered a nervous breakdown in 1905 and was forced to give Wardenclyffe to his creditors. Today it is being restored with the support of thousands of Tesla fans, including Elon Musk.

WI-FI AT WARDENCLYFFE? BUILT IN 1901, TESLA'S MASSIVE TOWER WAS AN EARLY WIRELESS TRANSMISSION STATION. IT WAS DEMOLISHED IN 1917.

WOODCUT SHOWS ONE OF THE CENTRAL POWER STATIONS IN NEW YORK BUILT BY THE EDISON LIGHT COMPANY IN 1882

But to commercialize his incandescent lamp, Edison now had to design an entire electrical system to power it, which he modeled after the gas lighting systems used in large cities. Gas systems included central stations, underground conductors, meters, and lamp fixtures. Edison built his first central station on Pearl Street in lower Manhattan in 1882. The area included the Wall Street financial district and the offices of New York's newspapers, ensuring that Edison had access to both financiers and the media. Before installing the station, he had his men survey the district to find out how many gas and kerosene lamps were used that might be replaced by his new lights. To offset the high costs of the copper mains needed to carry power to his lights, Edison designed his DC system for densely populated urban centers, and it was most efficient serving customers within a mile of the central station.

The Rise of Alternating Current

Edison was right that there was a huge market for smaller electric lights that could take the place

of gas lamps, and he enjoyed significant profits from his incandescent system through the 1880s. Although Edison pioneered the development of incandescent lighting, he was unable in the early 1880s to keep rival inventors from entering this lucrative market. But the biggest challenge facing Edison was the fact that his system was only economical in towns and cities where there was a densely populated downtown—in those situations, there were enough customers who could offset the cost of laying the copper mains required for his system.

Yet in America, there were numerous towns that had the money for electric lighting but the population was too spread out to warrant installing an Edison system. Whoever could tap into this larger market was sure to make a fortune!

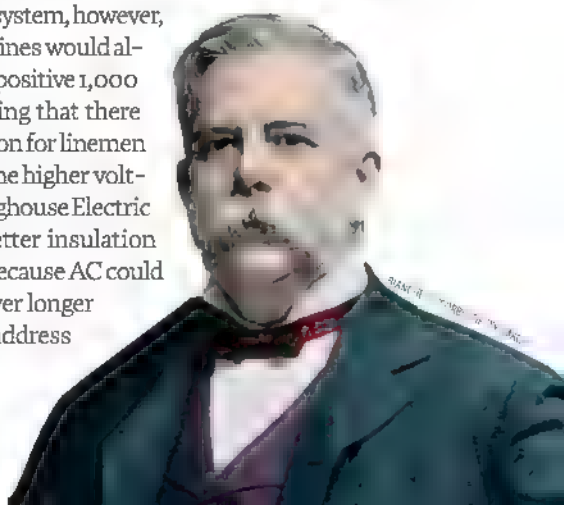
Recognizing this, George Westinghouse decided to develop an alternating current (AC) lighting system. Westinghouse reckoned that if he raised the voltage (say to 1,000 volts) used to transmit the current, he could reduce the size of the copper mains. However, since bringing 1,000 volts into people's houses could be dangerous, Westinghouse had his engineers borrow a device invented in Europe, the transformer, which could step down the voltage from 1,000 to 110 V.

But transformers only worked with alternating current, meaning that Westinghouse's new system would be a radical departure from Edison's prevailing DC system. In Edison's DC system, the voltage was constant (typically 110 V), which was relatively safe for consumers. Installation of DC systems was straightforward because linemen could rely on the practices commonly used in DC telephone and telegraph systems.

In the new Westinghouse AC system, however, the voltage on the transmission lines would alternate between a maximum of a positive 1,000 and negative 1,000 volts, meaning that there was greater danger of electrocution for linemen stringing the new power lines. The higher voltages also demanded that Westinghouse Electric engineers needed to develop better insulation and new safety measures. And because AC could transmit power economically over longer distances, it was worthwhile to address these safety issues.

TRUE POWERHOUSE

Born in New York in 1846, George Westinghouse (be ow) was a lifelong entrepreneur and inventor, transforming the rai road and power industries. Before his death in 1914, he had more than 360 patents in his name.



ORBIS/GETTY IMAGES

THE BIG BUSINESS OF INVENTION

TO MANUFACTURE AND MARKET his incandescent lamp, Edison knew he needed the infrastructure to support it. He designed an entire system to power the light bulb, but he didn't stop there. A savvy businessman, Edison founded companies to manufacture all the parts needed for his DC system in the early 1880s; he established the Edison Lamp Works, which was renamed the Edison Electric Lamp Company, Edison Machine Works (left), and several other companies to produce lamps, generators, conductors, and meters. Despite losing the battle of the currents over the next few years, Edison's companies endured. In 1889 they combined to form Edison General Electric, which subsequently became General Electric.

So, circa 1887, AC looked very promising to electrical engineers. Yet they soon realized that they had an economic problem on their hands. Ideally, an AC system should cover an entire city but that meant that the power plant and network would cost hundreds of thousands of dollars, and to offset that investment, it would be good if the plant could deliver electricity 24 hours a day, 7 days a week. To do that, engineers realized they would need a motor that would consume power during the day—a motor that could be used in streetcars, factories, elevators, and all sorts of applications.

Tesla and the AC Motor

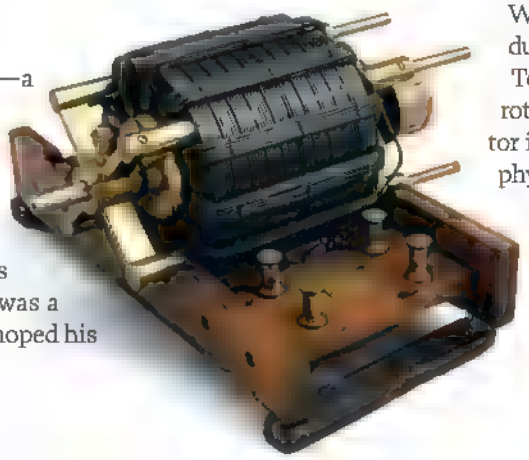
At this critical juncture—1887—a tall, dark, and handsome man turned up with just the right invention, an AC motor. His name was Nikola Tesla.

Tesla was born in 1856 to a Serbian family living in what is today Croatia. Tesla's father was a Serbian Orthodox priest who hoped his son would follow in his footsteps. As a teenager, however, Nikola was stirred by a faith in science and instead studied engineering at the Joanneum Polytechnic School in Graz, Austria.

TESLA'S SIMPLE LITTLE MOTOR

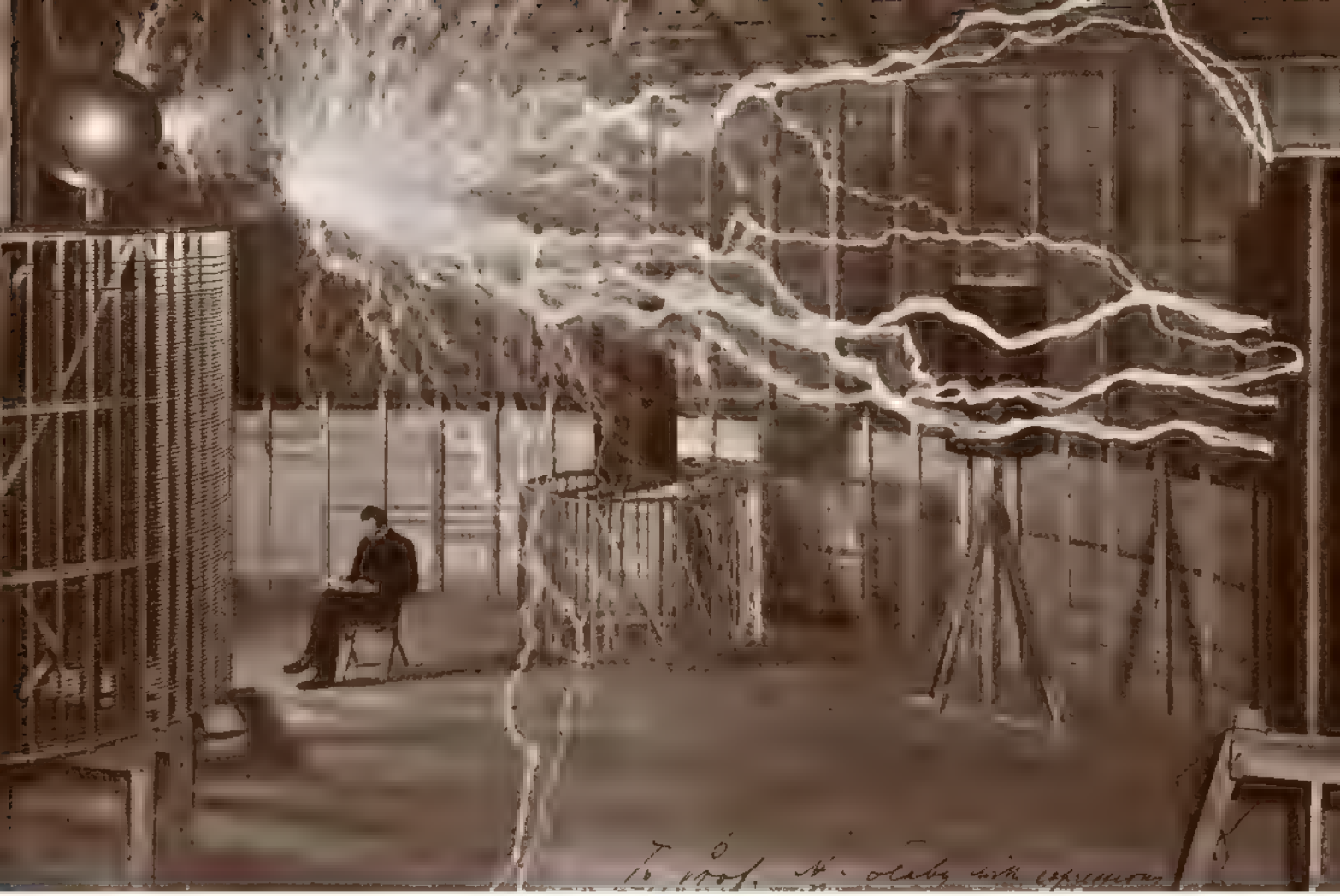
Tesla's induction motor (below) was at the center of the battle of the currents. Its innovative design and resulting efficiency would revolutionize the power industry in the late 19th century.

LEBRECHT MUSIC/ALBUM



At Graz, Tesla became interested in developing a new electric motor. All motors have two sets of electromagnets. One set is stationary (called the stator) and the other is mounted on a rotating shaft (called the rotor). Adjusting the current fed to each set can create similar magnetic poles facing each other in the stator and rotor. When that happens, the two sets of magnets repel each other, and the shaft of the motor will turn.

While watching how a DC motor sparked during a demonstration in his physics class, Tesla suggested that the commutator (the rotating switch feeding electricity to the rotor in the motor) should be eliminated. His physics professor thought he was crazy to propose such a motor, but Tesla persisted. Over the next few years, Tesla puzzled about how to make a spark-free motor. Rather than build an actual motor, Tesla pictured everything in his



mind. In 1882, while living in Budapest, Tesla hit upon the perfect idea during a walk in a city park. Rather than changing the magnetic poles in the rotor, he envisioned the idea of using a rotating magnetic field in his motor.

Before Tesla, inventors had always designed electric motors so that the magnetic field of the stator was kept constant and the magnetic field in the rotor was changed by means of a commutator. Tesla's insight was a reverse of standard practice. In his motor, Tesla got exactly the right sequence by switching the current on and off in the individual electromagnets in the stator, thus creating a rotating magnetic field. As the magnetic field in the stator rotated, it would induce an opposing electric field in the rotor, thus causing it to turn. Tesla surmised in Budapest that the rotating magnetic field could be created using AC instead of DC, but at the time he did not know how to accomplish this.

Over the next five years, Tesla struggled to acquire the practical knowledge needed to perfect his motor. After helping install a telephone exchange in Budapest, he moved to Paris to work for the Continental Edison Company installing lighting systems in major European cities. In 1884 Tesla was transferred to the Edison Machine Works in New York. There, he had little personal contact with Edison and was assigned the task of designing an arc lighting system. After a payment dispute over his designs, Tesla quit in disgust.

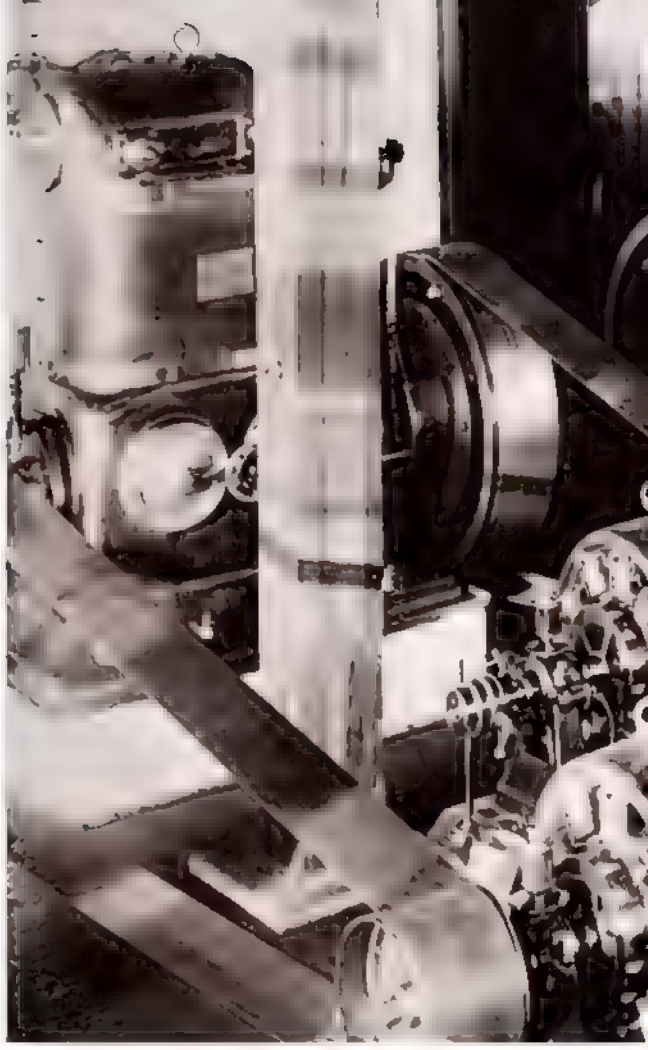
Working with backers from Rahway, New Jersey, Tesla introduced his own arc lighting system, but the company soon folded and Tesla was forced to work as a ditchdigger. In the midst of hardship, though, he mustered the energy needed to file a patent for a thermomagnetic motor. This invention attracted the attention of Charles F. Peck and Alfred S. Brown, who had made a fortune on Wall Street. Intrigued by Tesla's inventions, Peck and Brown rented a laboratory for Tesla in downtown Manhattan in 1886.

Tesla devoted himself to perfecting the thermomagnetic motor, but when it proved unworkable, Peck encouraged him to return to his AC motor. Building on his vision in Budapest, Tesla now experimented with using several alternating

HOW SHOCKING!

Nikola Tesla calmly takes notes while a man-made electrical storm erupts overhead in his laboratory in Colorado Springs, Colorado. He worked at this lab in 1899 and built the world's largest Tesla coil there.

BETTMANN/CORBIS/GETTY IMAGES



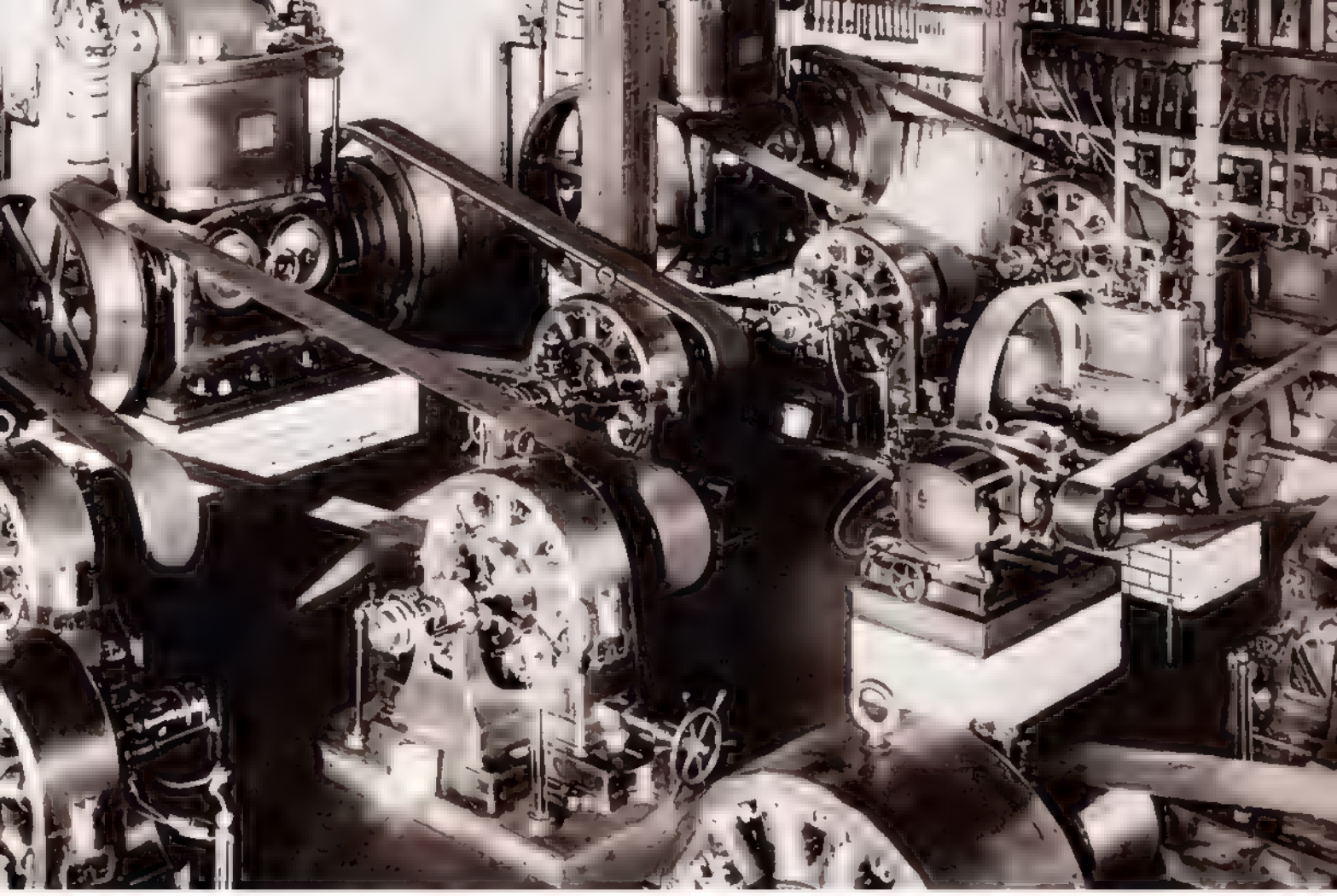
THE TECHNOLOGY OF EXECUTION

BEGINNING IN THE 18TH CENTURY, legal thinkers in Europe and America came to believe that execution for crimes should be more humane, if possible. Consequently, French radicals introduced the guillotine during the 1790s, and the British banned drawing and quartering in the early 19th century. The gallows were introduced to improve upon hanging; instead of slowly dying by strangulation, the subjects would drop through a trapdoor, and the force of the fall snapped the victim's neck. In the United States a series of botched hangings in the 1880s prompted reformers to seek a new form of capital punishment. In Buffalo, New York, Dr. Alfred P. Southwick, a dentist, undertook a study of how much electricity was required to kill stray dogs and then designed a system to electrocute criminals. An initial jolt of electricity was passed through the head to cause unconsciousness and brain death and a second jolt caused fatal damage to the vital organs. Southwick's electric chair was first used for capital punishment in 1890.

THE FIRST TO DIE. AN ENGRAVING SHOWS WILLIAM KEMMLER'S EXECUTION BY ELECTROCUTION, THE FIRST OF ITS KIND, AT AUBURN PRISON, NEW YORK, IN 1890.

currents in his motor. In doing so, he was a maverick since engineers at Westinghouse Electric and elsewhere used only one alternating current in their systems. In 1887 Tesla discovered that he could produce a rotating magnetic field by using two separate alternating currents fed to pairs of coils on opposing sides of the stator. Modern engineers would say that Tesla's motor was running on "two-phase current." Elated that he was finally able to make his rotating magnetic field work, Tesla filed patents broadly covering AC motors as well as the idea that multiphase AC could transmit power over long distances.

As it became clear that Tesla had come up with a promising AC motor, his patrons began to think about how to promote it. For Peck and Brown, the name of the game was not to manufacture Tesla's motor but rather to sell the patents to the highest bidder. To get the right "buzz" going about Tesla's motor, Peck and Brown arranged for Tesla to give a lecture in 1888 at the American Institute of Electrical Engineers. Their plan worked. Following this lecture, George Westinghouse purchased Tesla's patents for



$200,000; in today's dollars, this deal would be worth $5 million.

The Battle of the Currents

Now equipped with an AC system that could power lamps and motors, Westinghouse eagerly took on his major rival, the Edison Electric Light Company. In particular, Westinghouse went after contracts for the very places that the Edison DC system could not serve—the towns and cities where the population was spread out over a wide area. Drawing on the fortune he had made manufacturing railroad air brakes and signal systems, Westinghouse underbid Edison in competing for contracts. Indeed, determined to catch up with Edison, Westinghouse frequently offered to build new power stations below cost.

The Westinghouse tactics appalled Edison. Born and raised in the Midwest, he had a simple view of business deals: A customer should be charged what it actually cost to make the equipment plus a modest profit. Intentionally losing money to undercut a rival seemed unfair. In 1888, after losing major contracts for lighting Denver and Minneapolis, one of Edison's managers, Francis Hastings, decided to retaliate by attacking the safety of the Westinghouse Electric AC system.

As the first AC systems were installed, there were inevitably accidents in which linemen were electrocuted by the higher voltages used in these new systems. With a little encouragement from Hastings and the Edison company, newspapers quickly picked up these grisly AC accidents. To accelerate the process, however, Hastings found a willing ally in Harold P. Brown. A consulting engineer who had somehow been double-crossed by Westinghouse Electric, Brown was eager for revenge. With the blessing of the Edison managers, Brown organized demonstrations for reporters at Edison's laboratory in West Orange, New Jersey, in which stray dogs were electrocuted using Westinghouse Electric AC equipment.

Brown's biggest publicity coup was to arrange for AC to be used for capital punishment. In New York State physicians and reformers had become concerned that hanging was a cruel form of punishment and were seeking an alternate method of execution. Brown convinced them

POWER BY WESTINGHOUSE

Because AC current was more efficient than DC for transmitting over long distances, Westinghouse could use his power plants, like the one above, to serve more people over larger areas than was possible for Edison's system

BET MANN ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

POWERING THE WHITE CITY

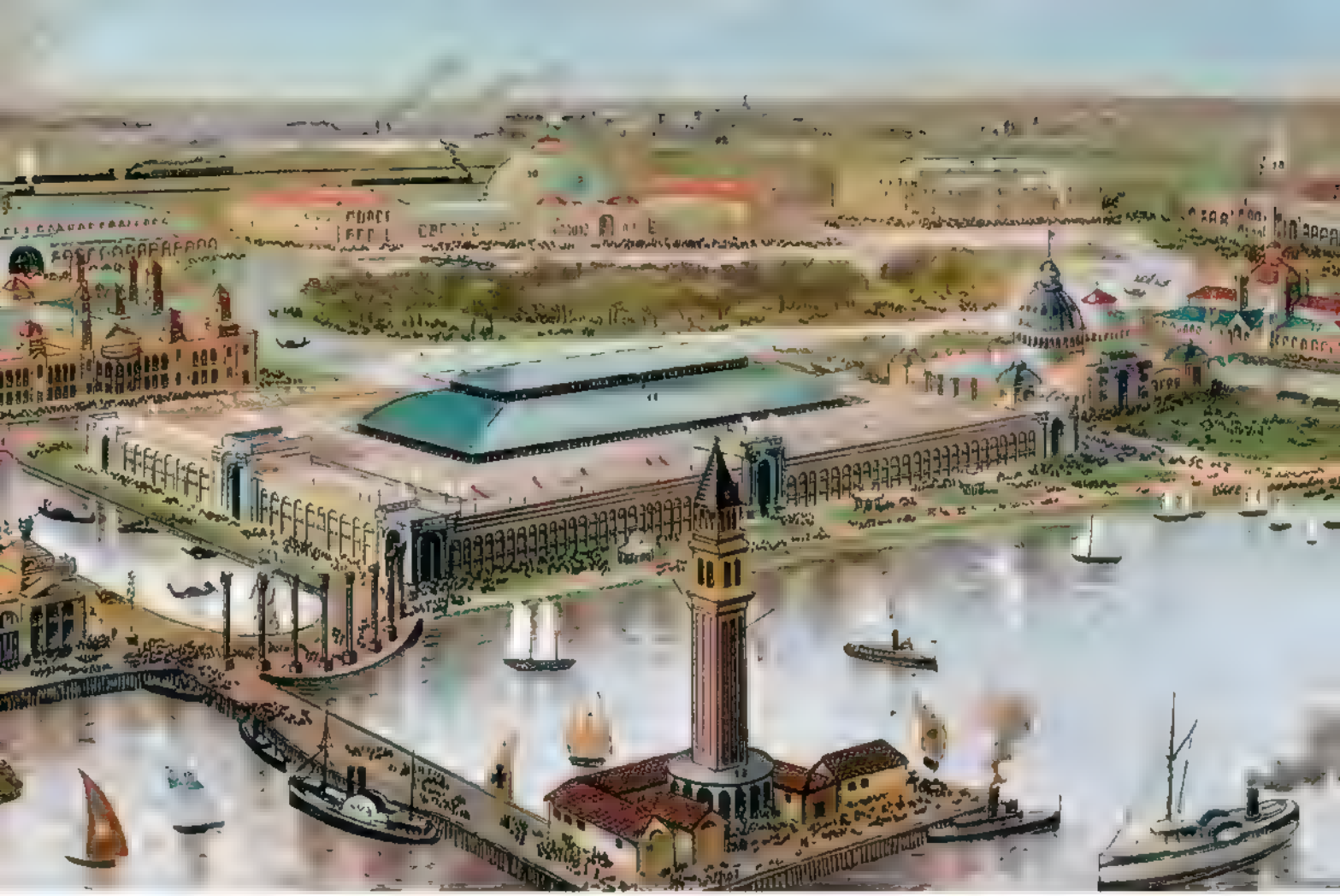
THE WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION was held in Chicago in 1893 to celebrate the 400th anniversary of the arrival of Christopher Columbus in the New World in 1492. Its 200 buildings attracted 27 million visitors who came to ride on the first Ferris wheel, travel on a moving sidewalk, watch movies on Edison's kinetoscope, and sample Juicy Fruit gum for the first time. Known as the White City, the fair's gleaming buildings prompted city planners across America to beautify their cities with elaborate city halls, boulevards, and parks during the progressive era. In terms of technology, the most important developments occurred in the Electricity Building. Westinghouse Electric succeeded in getting the contract to light the fair and designed their own ingenious lamp to light the fair's pavilions. To power these lights, Westinghouse installed twenty-four 500-horsepower generators along with the transformers and equipment so that the company was able to demonstrate the versatility and efficiency of its system.

THE HALL OF ELECTRICITY WESTINGHOUSE AND TESLA'S AC SYSTEMS WERE SEEN BY CROWDS OF SPECTATORS AT THE WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION.

that electrocution by AC was more humane than hanging, and surreptitiously he purchased a used Westinghouse Electric AC generator. Installed at Auburn prison, this Westinghouse machine was used to execute a convicted murderer, William Kemmler, in 1890. Naturally, Brown and the Edison company made sure the headlines read that Kemmler had been "Westinghoused."

Brown personally dared George Westinghouse to take shocks from his AC generator at increasing voltages while Brown took shocks from an Edison DC machine. Perhaps worried that his friend Westinghouse might take up this challenge, Tesla decided during his 1891 lecture to demonstrate the safety of AC by taking 250,000 volts across his body. Because of the high frequency of the current generated by his newly invented Tesla coil, the current traveled across the surface of Tesla's body and did not harm his internal organs.

Complementing this publicity campaign, the Edison company also fought Westinghouse on a legislative front. Representatives of the Edison group lobbied several state legislatures to limit



the maximum voltage of electrical systems to 300 volts, and they came very close to getting laws passed in Virginia and Ohio.

AC Prevails

But while the Edison organization fought in the court of public opinion, Westinghouse and Tesla prevailed in the realm of engineering and business. First, the Westinghouse company decided to dramatically demonstrate its AC system by providing power to tens of thousands of lights at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. Visitors not only were enthralled by the beauty of the nighttime illumination but also grew convinced that AC was the future.

Second, in parallel with the World's Fair, Tesla worked behind the scenes to convince the Wall Street financiers of a giant hydroelectric power plant at Niagara Falls that they should use AC to transmit power to cities across New York State. Through a series of letters and meetings, Tesla persuaded the bankers that AC would allow them to provide electricity to a wider geographic area. At the same time, Tesla kept Westinghouse informed of how the Niagara project was progressing so that Westinghouse could bid on the contract for designing and equipping the power station. In recognition of his contributions to Niagara, the bankers asked Tesla to speak at the banquet celebrating the opening of the power plant in 1896.

After Niagara, the basic pattern of the American electrical industry was established. For much of the 20th century, AC power has been generated and distributed on a massive scale by investor-owned utilities for use by businesses and residential customers. Because the capital costs of building new plants is so high and the marginal profits in selling power is so low, utilities have generally sought to build ever larger networks—first across cities, then entire states, and eventually regions covering multiple states. In doing so, they continue to rely on the multiphase AC technology pioneered by Tesla and Westinghouse.

W. BERNARD CARLSON
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LATEST AND GREATEST

The World's Columbian Exposition took place in Chicago in 1893. Spectators from all over the country flocked to the shores of Lake Michigan to marvel at the newest inventions and trends in the United States.

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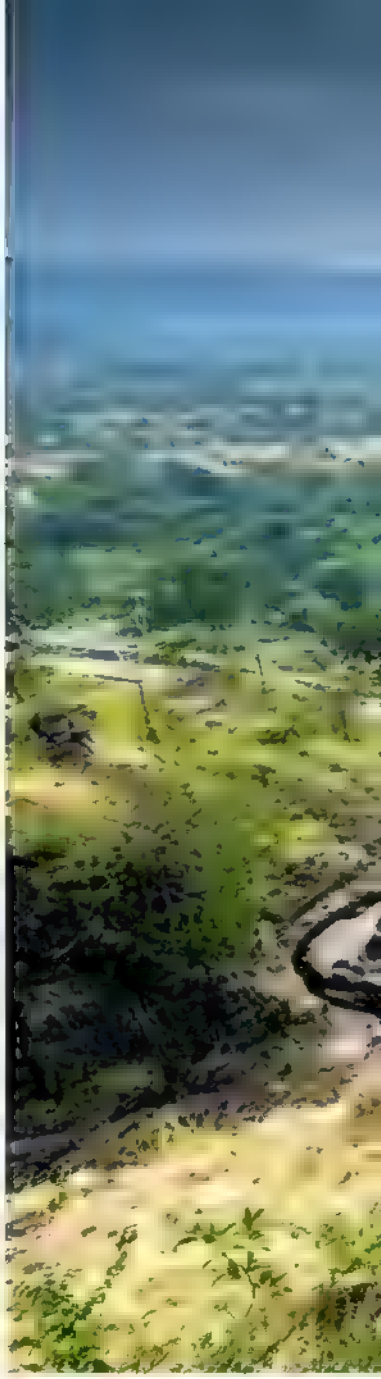
The Ellora Temples: Shrines to Tolerance

In the 1800s a British officer brought one of India's most fascinating monuments to the world's attention. Carved from rock, the magnificent temples of Ellora bear witness to a remarkable flowering of interreligious harmony in India during the first millennium A.D.



India, it is often said, is the Land of Religions. The astonishing rock-cut temples of Ellora stand as a testament to that reputation; few places in the world contain the sacred symbols for a variety of faiths and symbolize the harmony that once reigned among them. A UNESCO World Heritage site today, the Ellora temples continue to inspire and awe.

Three Faiths

Situated near the village of Ellora, 200 miles northeast of Mumbai (Bombay), is a complex of 34 temples, the bulk of which date from the 7th to the 11th centuries. Stretching for more than a mile in the wooded hills, they are

dedicated not just to one religion, but three: Hinduism, Buddhism, and Jainism.

The earliest structures are 12 Buddhist temples, some of which date from before the time of Christ. The 17 Hindu temples, the most elaborate of the structures, were built between A.D. 500 and 900. The five remaining shrines are dedicated to Jainism—an ancient Indian religion that was founded around the seventh century B.C.

The proximity of these temples of different faiths speaks volumes about the development of religion in Indian history. Jains, like Hindus, incorporate the god Krishna into their beliefs. The aim of Jains to acquire wisdom by spurning material wealth also resonates with Buddhism. Many of Ellora's Hindu temples were carved when the Rashtrakuta kings ruled this Deccan region of India. Warriors and patrons of the arts, this remarkable dynasty also fostered a spirit of religious tolerance.

Only two of the temples are freestanding. They were originally cut out of the rock and gradually separated from the hillside until they stood alone. One of them is among the largest and most extraordinary Hindu temples in India: the Kailasa Temple. Named for the mountain dwelling of Shiva, work on this temple was begun by the Rashtrakuta king Krishna I in the eighth century. Just under 100 feet high,

SCULPTURE OF VISHNU, HINDU GOD WITH ONE THOUSAND NAMES, ELLORA
CORBIS/CORBON PRESS

600s–1000s
Many of Ellora's 34 temples are cut from the rock face during this period of religious tolerance in the region.

Early 1700s
Niccolao Manucci, a Venetian, visits Ellora and writes of the artistry of the structures and the sculptures they contain.

1810
A British officer, John B. Seely, spends several days visiting the Ellora temples, and making detailed notes on each.

1824
Seely publishes *The Wonders of Ellora.* His detailed descriptions of the shrines reach a wide reading public.

it is filled with intricate reliefs. Archaeologists now know the Kailasa Temple was carved from the top down—unlike most rock-cut monuments, which are usually excavated sideways.

Taking Notes

The Ellora complex has been visited and written about many times. In the 11th century, the Arab historian al-Masudi saw the temples for himself and described the teeming groups of pilgrims there. In the early 1700s the Venetian traveler Niccolao Manucci was astonished by the artistry of the sculpture and the colorful wall paintings. His writings detailed the spectacle of such huge structures carved from stone.

Knowledge of the history of the Ellora temples became *(continued on page 94)*

WALLS OF COLOR

THE ROCK-CUT TEMPLES at Ellora are known for not only their impressive architecture but also their many sculptures and reliefs. Some temples, like Kailasa, still bear fragments of colorful frescoes, such as this one, depicting scenes from Hindu mythology.

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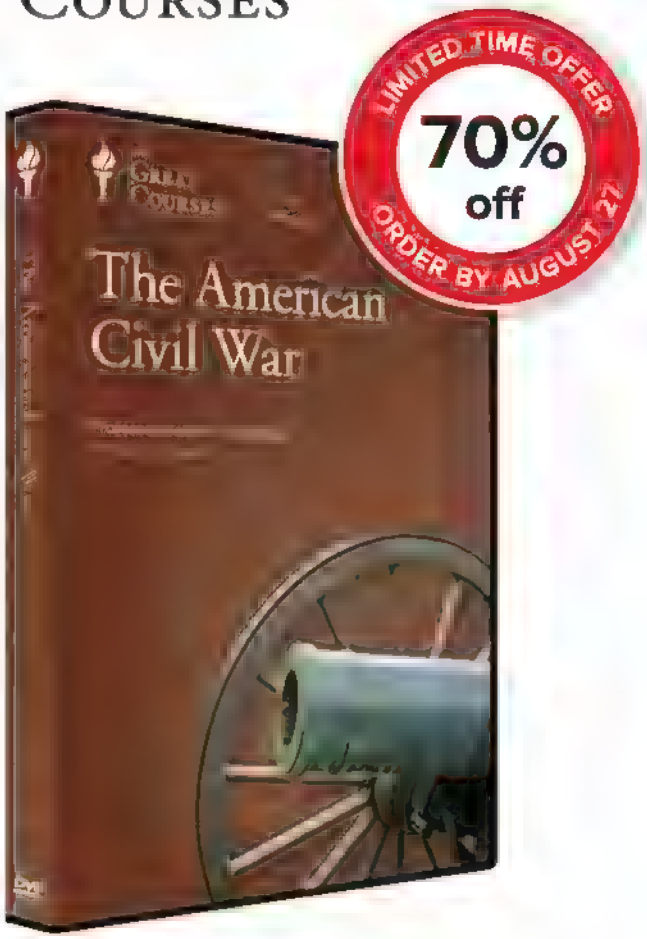

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Shiva, Destroyer and Creator

KUMAR LENA, also known as Temple 29, is one of the earliest Hindu shrines at Ellora, believed to have been created in the sixth century. It is adorned with sculptural reliefs that re-create events in the god Shiva's life. This one tells the story of how the demon king Ravana challenges Shiva—and pays the price for his hubris.

The ganas, Shiva's assistants, wait on the god and his wife, Parvati.
Shiva, the creator and destroyer of the universe, lives on Mount Kailasa, from where he dispenses justice.
Parvati, Shiva's wife, and daughter of the Himalaya, is seated on the throne next to her husband.
Ravana, the demon king, tries to move Mount Kailasa. Shiva punishes him by trapping him beneath the mountain.

DINODIAIMAGE FOTOSTOCK

more widely disseminated during the British rule of India. John B. Seely, a British officer, was largely responsible for documenting the site. His thorough examination of the complex's carved treasures opened them up to the admiration of the world.

Seely set out for Ellora in September 1810 from Bombay (Mumbai) and endured thick jungle, hilly terrain, sweltering heat, and sickness along the way. A large party accompanied him, including oxen and porters to bear his tent and writing desk, as well as several servants and an armed escort of six sepoys and a corporal.

When Seely finally arrived at Ellora, he captured the moment: "It is impossible to describe the feelings of admiration upon first beholding these stupendous excavations." Once his tent was pitched before the magnificent Kailasa Temple, he set to work to examine the extraordinary complex.

A Rival to Ramses

Over the weeks that followed, Seely meticulously documented the structure of this and the smaller temples. Although he was not a trained scholar, his careful notetaking and observations left behind a detailed record for future study.

Seely was stunned not only by the sheer number of carvings and sculptures but also by the quality of their workmanship. In Teen Tal, a three-story, eighth-century temple, he found a row of Buddhas still covered with their original bright coloring. In the Jain Temple of Indra Sabha he saw a huge statue of a seated Mahavira, the 24th, and last, of the *tirthankara*—the figures in Jainism that reveal the righteous path to believers.

His painstaking descriptions of everything he saw were later published in London in 1824. *The Wonders of Ellora* arrived in bookshops at an opportune moment. A few years before, Giovanni Belzoni's discovery of the temples of Ramses II at Abu Simbel had whetted the Western public's appetite for ancient cultures in far-off lands.

In his book, Seely made the claim—considered unusual in the West—that ancient Indian culture was the equal of, even superior to, that of ancient Egypt. Writing of Teen Tal, Seely asked readers to make a comparison: "Is not this entire temple wonderful? Or does it yield the palm to [those places] mentioned by Belzoni?" Seely made his own view crystal clear: "It is my humble opinion, that no monuments of antiquity in the known world are comparable to the Caves of Ellora."

—*Carme Mayans*

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INDIA'S GLITTERING MAHARAJAS

SINCE ANTIQUITY, India's rulers aspired to be maharajas—great kings, in Sanskrit—building monuments of breathtaking splendor, such as the 16th-century Amber Fort shown in this watercolor from the British Library, London. As Mughal rule crumbled and British power expanded in the 1700s, the maharajas continued to contribute to Indian culture through architecture, poetry, music, and art— despite a decline in political influence over the next two centuries.

PERSIA: RISE OF THE WORLD'S FIRST SUPERPOWER

IN THE SIXTH CENTURY B.C. the Persian Empire became the largest power the world had ever seen—stretching from modern-day North Africa to Afghanistan. Defeating the Medes in 550s B.C. and conquering the Babylonians in 539 B.C., its leader, Cyrus II, built the empire through a combination of military might and cultural tolerance. The lavish artifacts left behind, like this gold armlet from the Oxus treasure held in the British Museum, London, reflect Persia's splendor.

GTRES

The Lasting Legacy of Memphis

Founded in the fourth millennium B.C. by Egypt's first pharaohs, the riverside city of Memphis has endured the twists and turns in the long history of this ancient nation.

London After the Great Fire

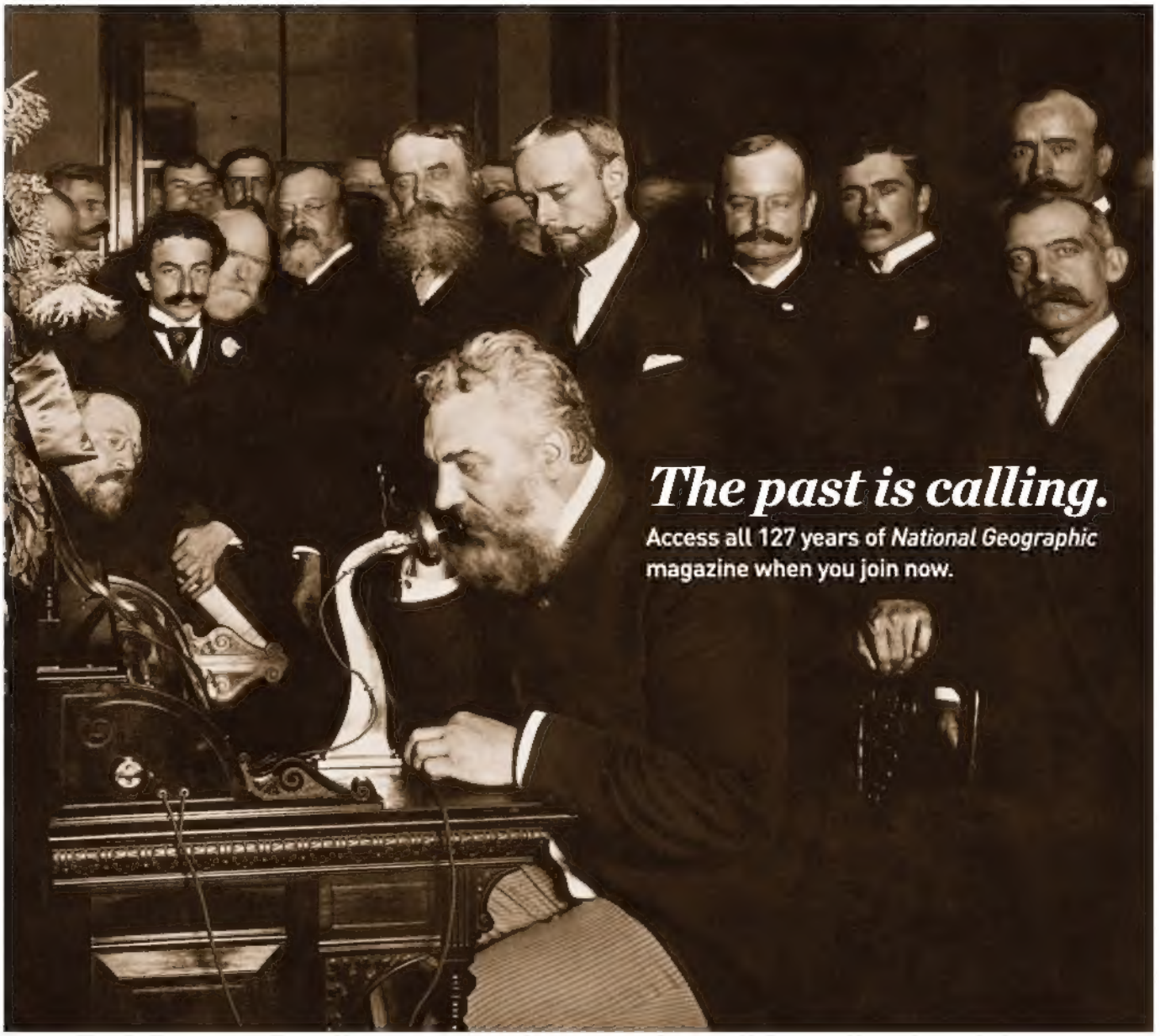
"In 1666 / London burned like rotten sticks," goes an old nursery rhyme. While a terrible tragedy, the conflagration swept away the old and made way for a new, imperial city.

Ptolemy: The Science of Astrology?

Science and the supernatural were one and the same to the second-century mathematician and astronomer Ptolemy, whose *Tetrabiblos* is one of the oldest works on astrology.

Saving Antietam

The Battle of Antietam, fought on September 17, 1862, was the bloodiest day in U.S. history. Now a national battlefield, the historic site is one of the best preserved in America, thanks to more than a century of conservation efforts.



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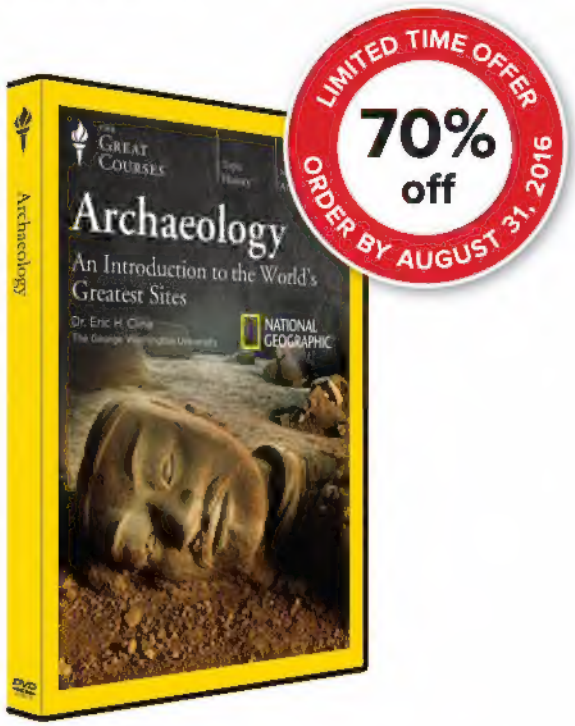

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